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THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

VOLUME SEVEN

Edinburgh Castle

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The History of Scotland Its Highlands, Regiments and Clans

By

JAMES BROWNE, LL. D.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES
VOLUME VII

Francis A. Niccolls & Co.

EDINBURGH LONDON BOSTON

1909

Aberdeen Edition

Of which One Thousand numbered and registered copies have been printed.

Number.....

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St. Andrews Press

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THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Volume VII

SCOTLAND SINCE CULLODEN

Continued

More or less closely associated with Scott in the minds of many readers were three of his contemporaries, James Hogg, even better known as "the Ettrick Shepherd;" John Wilson, still remembered as "Christopher North;" and Scott's son-in-law and biographer, John Gibson Lockhart. The shepherd was the son of a peasant farmer living near Tushielaw Castle and was born in 1770 or 1772, for the date is variously given. Put out to service while still very young he could barely read and write at the age of seventeen, but while employed as a shepherd in Yarrow for ten years he gained access to books. Through the son of his employer he became known to Scott, whom he and his peasant mother, locally famous for her acquaintance with old Scottish songs, supplied with considerable material for Scott's "Border Minstrelsy." It was not till he was past thirty that Hogg published anything of his own, though somewhat known about the countryside as a poet for several years previously. His "Mountain Bard" appearing in 1807, brought him fame and a little money, though he soon lost his capital in a sheep farming

venture. Such celebrated writers as Byron, Southey, Wordsworth, De Quincey and Wilson were presently numbered among his friends and correspondents, while Scott's friendship and regard for him continued throughout his life. Hogg was materially assisted by the Duke of Buccleugh who gave him a farm at Altrieve at a nominal rent, but the poet attempting sheep raising once more again fell deeply in debt. Altrieve continued to be his home, and from it he went up to London in 1832 for a three months' visit. A picturesque figure at all times, he was especially such in London drawing-rooms, and if his head were somewhat turned by the lionizing he encountered it is not greatly to be wondered at. He died at Altrieve in November, 1835, and was buried in Ettrick kirkyard.

A quarter century later, beside Saint Mary's Loch, a monument was raised to his memory. Seated on the root of an oak, wrapped in his plaid, and with his dog Hector at his feet, the shepherd grasps his staff in one hand while the other holds a scroll bearing a quotation from the "Queen's Wake," — "He taught the wandering winds to sing." As a verse writer Hogg was exceedingly fluent, and while his longer poems are more or less echoes of Scott, he reveals himself in his shorter ones as among the best song writers of his era. His prose compositions are not inconsiderable in number, but his fame will live rather in his poetry, the "Queen's Wake," his masterpiece, containing the delicately conceived fairy poem of Kilmeny. In the famous, but now partly unreadable, "Noctes Ambrosianæ," so long a feature of *Blackwood's Magazine*, Hogg figures as the "Ettrick Shepherd," a personage with Hogg's "exterior features and a good many of his foibles, but endowed with considerably more than his genius." The Shepherd bulks largely in the liter-

ary annals of his time, but save for the poem beginning

"Bonny Kilmeny gaed up the glen,"

he is virtually unread in ours.

John Wilson, born in 1785 at Paisley, where his father was a wealthy manufacturer, was educated at Glasgow and Oxford, and coming into a fortune at twenty-six settled down at Elleray on Lake Windermere, as a country gentleman. Ill luck presently caused the loss of his fortune, and going up to Edinburgh he became associated with the coterie of *Blackwood* contributors. Shortly afterward he obtained the very remunerative chair of moral philosophy at Edinburgh University and at the same time revealed himself to be an exceedingly militant journalist. The "Noctes Ambrosianæ," a series of highly convivial conversations, already alluded to, was largely his invention, and as "Christopher North" he contributed to *Blackwood* innumerable articles on things in general. His was the dominant influence in *Blackwood* for many years, but he wrote little in his last days and resigning his professorship in 1852 he died two years later. His stories, once popular, are now forgotten for the most part, and his poems, "The Isle of Palms" (1812) and "The City of the Plague," reveal no very salient qualities. As a critic he was vigorous rather than sound and was largely at the mercy of his opinions, but he infused into miscellaneous journalism an exuberance in language that was in sharp contrast to much of the writing of the period. His collected works contain a confused amount of work both good and bad, and are not likely to attract any but professed students of literature at the present, but if somewhat over-estimated in the heyday of his influence he does not quite deserve all the neglect into

which he has since fallen. What the young Tennyson thought of the burly critic of Edinburgh may be seen in the lines:

"To Christopher North.

"You did once review my lays,
Crusty Christopher;
You did mingle blame and praise,
Rusty Christopher.
When I learned from whom it came,
I forgave you all the blame,
Musty Christopher;
I could not forgive the praise,
Fusty Christopher."

Closely associated with Wilson in the early years of *Blackwood's Magazine,* and always his friend, was John Gibson Lockhart, born at Cambusnethan in 1794. Like Wilson he studied both at Glasgow and Oxford, afterwards going to Germany for further study. He was called to the bar on his return and soon became one of the chief members of the *Blackwood* staff. As has been previously said he was married to Sophia Scott in 1820, and while he and his wife were living at Chiefswood, Lockhart, beside contributing almost constantly to *Blackwood,* wrote four novels: "Valerius," "Reginald Dalton," "Matthew Weld," and "Adam Blair," the last named being the best of the four. None of them, it must be admitted, are familiar to the present generation of fiction readers. A more important work of the Chiefswood part of his career is his "Ancient Spanish Ballads." In 1826 he was appointed editor of the *Quarterly,* and removing to London became a prominent figure in its literary circles. In after years the death of his wife and other domestic troubles saddened him, his own health failed, and after resigning from the *Quarterly* in 1853 he died the same year.

Lockhart's writings have never been collected, nor is it possible to recover the actual authorship of articles sometimes attributed to him. He was a sharp, even savage critic, and is strongly suspected of writing the famous attack upon Keats in the *Quarterly*. This cannot be proved, but that he wrote the bitter onslaught on Tennyson's early poems seems reasonably certain. His best work is the "Life of Scott" (1837) which for skilful arrangement of matter, discriminating judgments and literary quality must rank among the foremost books of its class. His "Life of Burns," published in 1825, is a much inferior work. His fame may be said to rest on the biography of his father-in-law and the "Spanish Ballads," which are excellent of their kind and reveal a thorough understanding of what good verse should be.

Contemporary with these two lights of Scottish literature may be named Sir James Mackintosh (1765–1832) and James Mill (1773–1836) the father of the more widely known John Stuart Mill. On the strength of his "Dissertation on Ethics" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Mackintosh is classed as a philosopher, but he was by no means an original thinker and appears to best advantage in the many contributions he made to the *Edinburgh Review*, his criticisms being almost invariably sound and seldom swayed by personal feeling. Mill, a farmer's son, was born near Montrose, and after giving up his first inclinations towards the ministry became a journalist. He wrote a "History of British India," for a long time esteemed as an authority but much less valued at present. He was a violent Radical in politics and it is not improbable that the pronounced opinions he held may have affected his estimates of men and movements. Other works by him are "Analysis of the Human Mind," and "Political Economy." His style was hard but clear like that of

the philosopher Bentham, whose disciple he was. A more widely famed Scottish philosopher than James Mill was Sir William Hamilton (1788–1856). Educated at Glasgow and Oxford, he was called to the Scottish bar, but never practised and soon began to contribute articles on philosophy to the *Edinburgh Review*. In 1836 he was appointed professor of logic and metaphysics at Glasgow University, where his lectures attracted great attention. "Dissertations" was the only work of his printed in his lifetime. His lectures, edited by Professor Veitch, appeared in 1860. Hamilton familiarized English students with German speculation and did much to put British metaphysical discussion upon a higher plane than it had previously occupied, but his style has been pronounced one of the very worst possible. A noted disciple of his was James Ferrier, nephew of Miss Susan Ferrier the novelist, born in 1808 and dying in 1864 at Saint Andrews, where he had been for twenty years a professor of moral philosophy. He was the son-in-law of John Wilson, whose works he edited, and the author of "Institutes of Metaphysics" (1854). Another Hamiltonian of distinction was Professor Thomas Spencer Baynes (1823–1887) editor of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and an able Shakesperean scholar, who carefully elaborated certain portions of Hamilton's philosophy.

Nine years the senior of Scott, whom she survived some nineteen years, Joanna Baillie may fairly be included in the group of Scottish authors of the earlier decades of the nineteenth century whose works we have just been considering. Her name was once mentioned, not without awe, as that of a great dramatist, which she certainly was not. Talent she possessed, but nothing at all approaching genius. She was born at Bothwell in 1762 and came of good family; one of her

uncles was the really great surgeon, Hunter, and her elder brother was a celebrated anatomist. To be near the latter she and her sister Agnes removed to Hampstead, where she lived until her death in 1851. In 1798 she published the earliest of a series of "Plays of the Passions," the primary intention being to produce two dramas, a tragedy and a comedy, each, as illustrative of the greater passions, Fear, Hatred, and the like. "Basil," or "Count Basil," was the opening play in the first book, and it was well received, even to the extent of a third edition. "De Montfort," in the same volume, was acted, with Kemble in the title rôle, and with fair success. Two more volumes of the series were issued in 1802 and 1812 and a collection of "Miscellaneous Plays" in 1804. Miss Baillie's tragedies did not possess good acting qualities and the blank verse in which they are written is correct but heavy. Only a somewhat stern sense of duty would carry the reader through their perusal in these more exacting times. Her comedies are not without genuine humour in places, but her observation of manners is obviously at second hand. During her long career she mingled with two generations of literary folk and enjoyed the friendship of many authors young and old, but long before her death her literary star had set.

Contemporary with Joanna Baillie and like her, with a career prolonged into the nineties, was Mrs. Mary Fairfax Somerville, born in Jedburgh, Dec. 26, 1780. At twenty-four she was married to her cousin, Captain Grieg, a Scottish officer in the Russian navy, who died two years later, and after an interval of six years she married Dr. William Somerville, a cousin, also. During her widowhood she had devoted much time to mathematics and after her second marriage she continued her studies, in 1825 adapting the "Mécanique Céleste" of

Laplace and following it with such original investigations as "The Connection of the Physical Sciences" in 1831, "Physical Geography" in 1848, "Molecular Science," and still other works. Her death occurred in 1872 and her "Personal Recollections and Correspondence" appeared the year following. The most widely famous woman in the United Kingdom who has ever devoted herself to science, she possessed sound scientific knowledge and literary ability of a high order.

The friend and contemporary of Scott, whom she survived more than twenty years, was Miss Susan Edmonstone Ferrier (1782–1854), whose three brilliant fictions, "Marriage" (1818), "The Inheritance" (1824), and "Destiny" (1831), are still popular with cultivated readers. She excelled in the drawing of character and her stories abound in human and clever satirical touches, but the general effect is somewhat hard, and, unlike Jane Austen, the talented Scotswoman never laughs *with* her characters, but always *at* them.

One important poet of the Scott period still awaits mention, Thomas Campbell, born in Glasgow in July, 1777. His father had once been a wealthy Glasgow merchant but had become impoverished by the war with America and young Campbell was forced to make his way in the world almost unassisted. His "Pleasures of Hope," a long poem published in 1799, proved popular, and after its issue he was always in comfortable circumstances as a literary man. His writings brought him both fame and money, and after being at one time Lord Rector of Glasgow University he died at Boulogne in 1844. In later days he would probably not have achieved equal notice, but though his longer poetic efforts remain unread he wrote three war songs that rose far above the average level of such compositions: "Hohenlinden," "Ye Mariners of England," and the

"Battle of the Baltic." As it happened he was in Germany at the end of the eighteenth century and either witnessed or was in the close vicinity of the battle of Hohenlinden, a circumstance which lends added interest to the really powerful poem of that name. Among other short poems by Campbell may be named the familiar "Lord Ullin's Daughter," "Lochiel," "The Last Man," and the beautiful "Soldier's Dream," beginning:

> "Our bugles sang truce, for the night cloud had lowered
> And the sentinel stars set their watch in the sky."

His longer poems find few readers in the twentieth century and survive only in name. The best of them, next to "The Pleasures of Hope," is "Gertrude of Wyoming," which is not without some grace of movement and genuine touches of sentiment, but "Theodric" (1824) and "The Pilgrim of Glencoe" need not detain the reader longer than to catch their names. The best estimate that has been made of his merits as a writer is that of the critic Saintsbury who remarks of Campbell that he is "an instance of a kind of poet, not by any means rare in literature, but also not very common, who appears to have a faculty distinct in class but not great in volume, who can do certain things better than almost anybody else, but cannot do them often, and is not quite to be trusted to do them with complete sureness of touch. . . . Even in Campbell's greatest things are distinct blemishes . . . yet for all this Campbell holds, as has been said, the place of best singer of war in a race and language which are those of the best singers and not the worst fighters in the history of the world."

Pulpit oratory has been nowhere more highly prized than in Scotland, and nowhere, too, has the preacher

had to face severer critics in the pews, for the average Scottish mind finds keen delight in argumentative theology, and up to very recent years, indeed, it enjoyed heresy hunting extremely and kept a sharp look out for lapses, however small, from the orthodoxy of the period. The body of Scottish divinity is of formidable extent, but on the whole, except in the later decades of the last century, it cannot be said to have contributed very largely to literature itself. Sermons furnish proverbially dry reading a few years after their delivery and Scottish sermons are no exception to the rule.

Two great Scottish preachers of the first four decades of the last century stand forth prominently among their fellows, by reason of their strong personalities and their undeniably striking gifts as leaders of men, Thomas Chalmers, already mentioned on a previous page, and Edward Irving. The former was born at Anstruther in Fifeshire, March 17, 1780, and being early set apart by his parents for the ministry was sent at eleven to the university of Saint Andrews. Ordained as a preacher in the Kirk of Scotland in January, 1799, he attended lectures at Edinburgh for two years more, becoming minister of Kilmany in Fifeshire in May, 1803. While attending to his ministerial duties he gave lectures on mathematics and chemistry which proved very popular, but later appears to have undergone a spiritual revolution which had a marked effect on his preaching, rendering it both earnest and eloquent. In 1815 he was admitted minister of the Tron Church in Glasgow and rapidly became the most popular preacher north of the Tweed. He preached a series of discourses on the connection between astronomical discoveries and Christian revelation which when printed in January, 1817, produced a greater sensation than any previous collection of sermons in the English language had done,

nine editions and a sale of twenty thousand copies in the year of its appearance testifying to the fact. When he went to London for a short time crowds flocked to hear him and the eight years of his Glasgow ministry saw no abatement of his remarkable popularity. In September, 1819, he left the Tron Church for Saint John's in order to test the existing system of providing for the poor, presently becoming convinced that it increased rather than relieved the evils it was intended to lessen, and he then, with the consent of the civic authorities, took into his own hands the management of the poor of Saint John's parish. The parish poor had previously cost the city £1,400 a year, but under Chalmers's intelligent oversight it was reduced in four years to £280.

In addition to his already heavy burdens he began, on going to Saint John's, a series of quarterly publications on "The Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns," which illustrated his theories of Christian usefulness, but his strength beginning to fail he removed to Saint Andrews, where for four years from 1823 he held the chair of moral philosophy in the university. His lectures during this period exerted a profound influence over his hearers, and when he went to Edinburgh in 1828, to fill the chair of theology there, the same was true in that position also. He came into close and cordial relations with his pupils and as one writer observes, "to that spirit with which he so largely impregnated the young ministerial mind of Scotland, may, to a large extent, be traced the disruption of the Scottish Established Church." He devoted much time at this period to literary tasks, publishing a third volume of the "Civic Economy of Large Towns" in 1826, "The Use and Abuse of Literary and Ecclesiastical Endowments" the next year, "Political Economy" in 1832, and his

celebrated Bridgewater treatise on "The Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man" in 1833. Literary honours rewarded his labours. He was made fellow of the Edinburgh Royal Society, corresponding member of the Royal Institute of France, and received a degree from Oxford, distinctions hitherto unawarded to Scottish clergymen.

During the "thirties" of the last century much dissatisfaction with existing conditions troubled the Kirk of Scotland and this increased in intensity as time went on. The major principle at issue was the right of any parish to reject the ministerial candidate nominated by the lay patron. The belief was firmly held by many that the parish should extend the call, and this theory was as strongly opposed by the Court of Session. In November, 1842, many ministers signed a declaration that they would resign their livings if relief measures were not granted, but in the following January the Government negatived the church claim of spiritual independence and the immediate consequence was the withdrawal from the Establishment on May 18, 1843, of the 470 clergymen who shortly constituted themselves into the Free Church of Scotland as has been described on a previous page. Chalmers was the first Moderator of the new body, but he presently withdrew from active service in the church, and confined his attention to his principalship of the Free Church College, his death occurring in May, 1847.

As a writer Chalmers was exceedingly prolific, but very little of his work appeals strongly to the men of the present. He was emphatically the man of his time, a leader of men. The testimony to his pulpit popularity is extensive, but whatever it was that held his vast audiences entranced is hardly, if at all, discoverable now. His intellectual range was wide and his sympathies were many and keen, but his reputation, so far as its

literary quality is concerned, is wholly an affair of the past.

A very different personage from Chalmers was his assistant at Saint John's from 1819 to 1822, Edward Irving, born at Annan, Dumfriesshire, Aug. 4, 1792. Graduated at seventeen from Edinburgh University in 1809, he was for a time, while master of an academy at Haddington, the tutor of Miss Jane Welsh, who afterward married Thomas Carlyle. Determined to marry only a genius, she appears to have hesitated between the young Scotsmen, but her choice of Carlyle was probably best on the whole, although the makings of an entirely satisfactory husband were not to be found in either man. Irving exchanged the mastership at Haddington for a similar post at Kirkcaldy in 1812, and in 1815 was licensed to preach. He remained at Kirkcaldy till 1818, and in the latter part of his stay in the last-named place he formed a friendship with Carlyle which continued through life. Going from Kirkcaldy to Edinburgh he did not immediately secure a ministerial charge, but in 1819 was appointed assistant to Doctor Chalmers at Glasgow. His florid style of preaching was not greatly admired by the congregation of Saint John's, Chalmers himself comparing it to "Italian music appreciated only by connoisseurs," but as a parish missionary he maintained an extraordinary influence over the poorer classes. Called to the Caledonian Church, Hatton Garden, London, he was ordained its minister in 1822.

This was the turning point in his brilliant but erratic career and in a very short time the Caledonian Church, in an unfashionable quarter of London, was thronged by crowds of enthusiastic hearers, many of whom were unable to gain an entrance on account of the great numbers that besieged the doors. "As far as the mere

manner of Irving's eloquence was concerned, it was improbable that any eulogy could err on the side of warmth and enthusiasm, for perhaps there never was anyone more highly gifted with what may be called the personal qualifications of an orator." Naturally his popularity somewhat declined as the curiosity of his audiences was satisfied, and his new church in Regent Square, opened in 1827, was not crowded, though still well filled. He presently developed doctrinal eccentricities and in May, 1833, was deposed from the ministry of the Scottish Kirk for heresy, by the Annan presbytery. He died exhausted by his labours and the intensity of his zeal in December, 1834. The Catholic Apostolic Church, sometimes styled the Irvingite Church, stands for the religious tenets associated with Irving in the last years of his career. The principal church of this denomination is in Gordon Square, London, and in the United States the sect numbers ten churches and some thirty ministers. The description of him by one writer as "a man of letters who had lost his way and strayed into theology," though striking is scarcely accurate, and a more correct impression of him may be obtained from Mrs. Oliphant's sympathetic biography of the noted preacher, published in 1862. Among books written by Irving are: "For the Oracles of God," "For Judgment to Come," "Babylon and Infidelity," and his characteristic "Exposition of the Book of Revelation." Except among members of the sect virtually founded by him they find few or no readers at present.

Decidedly the foremost figure among Scottish men of letters in the middle quarters of the last century was that of Thomas Carlyle, born at Ecclefechan, Dumfriesshire, Dec. 4, 1795, the son of a stone-mason. He came of worthy peasant stock and to the end of his career retained in his speech the brusqueness of the

Scottish peasant, which in its ignoring of many of the courtesies of human intercourse, is not far from downright rudeness, though a rudeness not necessarily intended. The parish schools of Ecclefechan and Annan gave him the rudiments of an education and at fifteen he was sent to the University of Edinburgh. Destined for the Church he soon manifested his aversion to the ministry, and undertaking teaching he served as a schoolmaster for a series of years in Annan, Haddington and Kirkcaldy, and also as a private tutor, doing much miscellaneous literary work meanwhile, his most important work of this period being a "Life of Schiller," published in 1825. He was at this time living in London, and mingling in a more or less gloomy fashion in literary circles there.

He married Miss Welsh of Haddington the next year, and from 1828 to 1834 they lived at his wife's farm of Craigenputtock in Nithsdale, a sojourn which bears witness to Mrs. Carlyle's willingness to be sacrificed at this epoch of her life at any rate. They kept no servant at the farm, Mrs. Carlyle performing all a servant's duties, and Carlyle, apparently quite willing that she should do so, contentedly living on her means, since his sole revenue otherwise was derived from the sale of an essay now and then. Still it should be admitted that Carlyle accomplished much during his Craigenputtock residence. The best of his essays were written there, so was his strange but forcible philosophical romance, "Sartor Resartus" (the Tailor Patched), which *Fraser's Magazine* printed in 1833–34, and so also was the larger portion of his "History of the French Revolution," published in 1837. The formative period in Carlyle's career was ended when he left Craigenputtock at almost the age of forty. His was a genius that developed slowly but it had now attained its full growth.

Carlyle's place among his fellows was definitely fixed by his "French Revolution," and Mrs. Carlyle could have had no doubts as to her husband's possession of genius henceforward. "There were furious decriers of style, temper, and so forth. But nine out of every ten men at least whose opinion was worth taking knew that a new star of the first magnitude had been added to English literature, however much they might think its rays in some respects baleful." A collection of "Miscellaneous Essays" was issued about the same time, and these represent his style at the best and before his mannerisms had become so glaring as they subsequently showed themselves. "Chartism" followed in 1839, "Heroes and Hero Worship," originally delivered some years earlier, in the form of lectures in 1840, and "Past and Present" in 1843. Next to the "French Revolution" in importance was "Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, with Elucidations and a Connecting Narrative" (1845), and after a lapse of five years came "Latter Day Pamphlets" (1850), the most strongly satirical of any of his books. The next year saw the publication of a notable "Life of John Sterling," an admirable biography of a fellow Scotsman, and Carlyle then set at work on his greatest undertaking, the "History of Frederic the Great," in the preparation of which he spent fourteen years, the successive volumes appearing from 1858 to 1865.

This was his latest work of great importance, the celebrated letter entitled "Shooting Niagara — and After," issued in *Macmillan's Magazine*, being the chief thing to be noted. In 1865 he went to Edinburgh to become Lord Rector of the University and the next year his wife died. He outlived her fifteen years, dying in 1881 in the modest house in Chelsea which had been the Carlyles' home for so many years, his

occupation for this period being mainly the preparation of his reminiscences and memorials of Mrs. Carlyle. They were issued after his death by the historian Froude, arousing a storm of criticism directed at Froude's editorship, the propriety of publishing them at all being much questioned, and violent discussion of the character of the Sage of Chelsea himself. Unsocial, moody and "gey ill to live wi'," Carlyle unquestionably was, and his affection for his wife found much more fulness of expression after her death than before, but her intellect was not so greatly inferior to his while her tongue was quite as sharp as his own, and there is no doubt of her willingness under provocation to give it exercise. That they wore on each other can well be believed, but that they were continuously unhappy in their long association as husband and wife need not be taken entirely for granted.

Carlyle is more accurately classed as a historian than anything else; his greatest books are histories and his biographies are strongest on the historical side. So too are the essays, and "out of the historic relation of nation or individual Carlyle would very rarely attempt to place, and hardly ever succeeded in placing, any thing or person. He could not in the least judge literature — of which he was so great a practitioner always, and sometimes so great a judge — from the point of view of form: he would have scorned to do so, and did scorn those who did so." Carlyle's style is a stumbling block to readers oftentimes and its source has been much disputed. It contains much that is German in effect but much more that is not, and its fantastic quality may, suggests Mr. Saintsbury, be traced to eccentric writers of the seventeenth century with whose works he was familiar, "much to a Scottish fervour and quaintness blending itself with and utilizing a wider range of reading than

had been usual with Scotsmen; most to the idiosyncrasy of the individual."

He had a weakness for the retention of capital letters; he liked to coin words, to omit pronouns and introduce singular and highly unusual forms. These things repelled many readers but they did not materially interfere with the author's meaning. They might be and very often were, decidedly in the way, but other things in connection with Carlyle were of greater significance. "There is in Carlyle's fiercer and more serious passages," to quote once again from Saintsbury, "a fiery glow of enthusiasm or indignation, in his lighter ones a quaint felicity of unexpected humour, in his expositions a vividness of presentment, in his arguments a sledge-hammer force, all of which are not to be found anywhere else, and none of which is to be found anywhere in quite the same form . . . the weapon of Carlyle is like none other — it is the very sword of Goliath."

Two Scottish historians born in that wonderful birth year of genius, 1809, deserve brief mention here: John Hill Burton, who died in 1881, and William Forbes Skene, who survived till 1892. Burton was a scholar of eminence who beside publishing "A History of Scotland" (1853–70), "The Reign of Queen Anne" (1877), and a life of Hume, was the author of works on Scottish law as well as several lesser books. His style has no especial merits but his judgment was impartial and his industry very great. Skene succeeded Burton as Historiographer Royal of Scotland and became the chief authority on Celtic Scotland. His works include "The Highlanders of Scotland, their Origin and History" (1837), "Chronicles of the Picts and Scots," "The Four Ancient Books of Wales" (1869), "Celtic Scotland" (1876), his greatest book, and others of minor importance.

A Scottish classic of the last century, widely known

wherever English is read, is the tenderly pathetic short story entitled "Rab and his Friends." Its author, Dr. John Brown (1810–1882), was an Edinburgh physician of literary tastes whose two volumes of essays called "Horae Subsecivæ," issued 1858–60, furnish very pleasant reading, but it is the story of "Rab" that will preserve his name.

On the fourth of February, 1832, appeared in Edinburgh the first number of *Chambers's Journal*, a weekly miscellany which has since undergone various changes in outward appearance but still runs its prosperous course. It was edited by the brothers William and Robert Chambers, who founded the publishing house which yet bears their name. William Chambers, born at Peebles in 1800, and alluded to on an earlier page in connection with the restoration of Saint Giles Cathedral, was the author among other works of "Things as They Are in America," "American Slavery and Colour," "France: Its History and Revolutions," and joint author with his brother of Chambers's "Book of Days" and "Cyclopædia of English Literature." He died in Edinburgh in 1883. Robert Chambers, born at Peebles in 1802, was an even more prolific author than his brother, but his chief work was the "Vestiges of Creation," published anonymously in 1844. To some extent it was an anticipation of the Darwinian theory of evolution and it aroused much violent opposition. It proved very stimulating to readers two generations ago and may still be read with pleasure. The secret of its authorship was not formally avowed until 1884. The greatest service which the Chambers brothers rendered to the world consisted in their wide dissemination of wholesome as well as inexpensive literature, and the house which they established well carries out the principles of its founders.

A popular opponent of Robert Chambers's "Vestiges" was the once famous geologist, Hugh Miller, born at Cromarty in 1802. He was fairly well educated but worked as a stone mason until the age of thirty. He had already written more or less and presently became editor of the *Witness*, a recently established newspaper with Free Kirk principles. He was for twenty years an active journalist, dying by his own hand in 1856 in a fit of insanity caused by overwork. His earliest important work was " The Old Red Sandstone " (1841), and among its successors were " Footprints of the Creator " (1850), " My Schools and Schoolmasters " (1854), " The History of the Rocks " (1857) and " The Cruise of the Betsey " (1858). His style had literary quality and he did much in an unpretentious way to popularize the science of his time.

A once prominent figure in Edinburgh literary society, but scarcely as well known to the present generation as his merits might entitle him to be, was William Edmonstoune Aytoun, who was born in Edinburgh in June, 1813, and died near Elgin in August, 1865. He joined the staff of *Blackwood* in 1844 and contributed to its pages constantly for the rest of his life. A son-in-law of John Wilson, he filled after Wilson's death the rôle of the most important literary man in Scotland, in the popular estimate, and from 1845 to 1864 was professor of literature in the University of Edinburgh. His earliest poems were printed when he was but seventeen, and in 1844 he wrote with Sir Theodore Martin the noted " Bon Gaultier Ballads," which reached a thirteenth edition in 1877. The book is a collection of witty parodies and other light verse, but his best work is unquestionably his serious " Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers," published in 1848 and passing into a twentieth edition in 1883. Aytoun closely followed Scott in his

style and while he sometimes rises to genuinely poetic heights the book on the whole is interesting rather than inspired. The "Lays" are deeply infused with romantic and patriotic sentiment and on their first appearance were received with enthusiasm. Other books by Aytoun are "Firmilian" (1854), a satire aimed at what was then styled the Spasmodic School of verse, of which Alexander Smith, a Scotsman, and Dobell and Bailey, Englishmen, were supposed to be the chief exponents, "Bothwell," a long and rather heavy poem, and "Norman Sinclair," a novel (1861).

Alexander Smith, though much younger than Aytoun, may be mentioned here fitly enough. A more genuine poet than his satirist he had in him the makings of a greater writer than he became, but it is quite possible that the injudicious praise his early poems received interfered somewhat with the working out of his literary destiny. Born in Kilmarnock in 1829 or 1830, he published "A Life Drama" before he was twenty-one. The book sold enormously and the reaction which soon set in was as unintelligent as the earlier praise. Gaining a post in the Edinburgh University he continued to write poetry undismayed by hostile criticism, "City Poems" appearing in 1857 and "Edwin of Deira" in 1861. He then turned his attention to prose, publishing the story "Dreamthorpe" in 1863 and "A Summer in Skye" in 1865. His career was soon over and he died of consumption in 1867. His work had considerable popularity in the United States as well as in his own country and may still awaken a mild degree of interest. As a poet his "Life Drama" represents him at his best. He cannot be described as original, but his verse is invariably melodious and at times even striking.

Contemporary with Smith, but surviving him some six years, was James Hannay, born at Dumfries in 1827.

He served as midshipman for several years and presently engaged in journalism in which he was brilliantly successful. He was for some years editor of the *Edinburgh Courant* and his contributions to Edinburgh periodicals attracted much favourable attention. He wrote several novels that were not without excellence in some important respects, among them being "King Dobbs" (1848), "Singleton Fontenoy" (1850), and "Eustace Conyers" (1855). As an essayist, however, he rendered his best service to literature by his "Essays from the 'Quarterly'" (1861), exhibiting no ordinary merit, while his "Course of English Literature" (1866) and "Studies on Thackeray" (1869) are stimulating and suggestive.

The essay has always enjoyed a high measure of public favour in Scotland, and contemporary with Hannay, but surviving him by a considerable number of years, were two men much unlike each other in their style, who cultivated the essay to even greater extent than Hannay, and still more successfully in certain respects, John Campbell Shairp and Andrew Kennedy Hutchinson Boyd. Shairp was born at Houstoun in West Lothian in 1819, and died at Ormsary, Argyllshire, in 1885. Educated at Glasgow and Oxford, he was professor of Latin at Saint Andrews, 1861–68, principal of the United College, Saint Andrews, 1868–77, and was appointed professor of poetry at Oxford in 1879 and again in 1882. He was an acute, broad-minded critic whose writings were full of intellectual stimulus. He published "Kilmahoe and Other Poems" in 1864, but his title to remembrance consists in his many and varied criticisms of poets and poetry. "Studies in Poetry and Philosophy," appearing in 1868, contained able and discriminating discussions of Coleridge, Wordsworth and Keble, and was followed by "Culture and

Religion" (1870), which was exceedingly popular for a work of its character, "The Poetic Interpretation of Nature" (1877), a "Life of Burns" (1879), in which a clear distinction is drawn between the character and work of the poet, "Aspects of Poetry" (1881), containing discussions of several poets from Burns to Newman, and "Sketches in History and Poetry" (1887).

It was the fortune of the "Country Parson," as Boyd styled himself, to acquire a wide popularity in the middle portion of his career and lose the most of it long before his death. He was born at Auchinleck, Ayrshire, in 1825, and studied at the Middle Temple, London, but giving up thoughts of the law, took a bachelor's degree at Glasgow and was licensed to preach by the Ayr presbytery in 1850. While minister at Kirkpatrick Irongray, near Dumfries, from 1854 to 1859, he became famous as the author of "Recreations of a Country Parson," which he contributed to *Fraser's Magazine* under the signature, A. K. H. B. His essays were very readable in their day, though the author was more or less given to the utterance of amiable platitudes, and some of them, like the one entitled "Concerning the Advantage of Being a Cantankerous Fool," possessed distinctive excellence. Their titles frequently began with the word "Concerning," a circumstance which took the fancy of their author's thousands of readers both in Great Britain and in America. Boyd's principal books include three series of the "Recreations" (1859–61–78), "Graver Thoughts of a Country Parson" (1862), "The Commonplace Philosopher in Town and Country" (1862), "Leisure Hours in Town" (1862), "Autumn Holidays of a Country Parson" (1864), "Critical Essays of a Country Parson" (1865), "Present Day Thoughts" (1871), "Our Little Life" (1882–84), "Twenty-five Years of Saint Andrews" (1892), "Saint

Andrews and Elsewhere" (1894). Boyd was one of the best known Scottish clergymen of his day and after holding city pastorates in Edinburgh and Saint Andrews was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1890. He died at Bournemouth in 1899.

A much more forcible critic and man of letters than the garrulous Country Parson, and not without literary kinship with Principal Shairp, was William Minto, born at Alford in 1845. He was educated at Aberdeen, and after editing the *London Examiner*, 1874–78, became in 1880 professor of logic and English literature at Aberdeen. Minto was the author of several novels of merit, "The Crack of Doom" (1886), "The Meditation of Ralph Hardelot" (1888), and "Was She Good or Bad?" (1889), "A Manual of English Prose Literature" (1872), "Characteristics of English Poets from Chaucer to Shirley" (1874), "Daniel Defoe" (1879), "Logic" (1893), "Plain Principles of Prose Composition" (1893), and "Prose Literature under the Georges" (1893). Professor Minto, whose method was strongly original, died in 1893, his latest volumes being issued posthumously.

Classical scholarship has always had its eminent Scottish exponents, and among Scottish classical scholars should be named Professors Blackie, Munro, and Sellar, to mention no others who shed lustre in this distinctive kind upon their century. John Stuart Blackie, the eldest of the three, was born in Glasgow in 1809, was professor of Greek at Edinburgh University 1852–1882, but continued to lecture and write until his death. He was active in educational reform, was a stout defender of Scottish nationality and founded a Celtic chair at his own university. He published important translations from the Greek and German, a Life of Burns, several volumes of verse of no very

especial distinction, and "Essays on Subjects of Moral and Social Interest" (1890). Hugh Munro, born at Elgin in 1819, became professor of Latin at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1869. He died in 1882, leaving behind him a celebrated translation of Lucretius, as well as many important scattered papers on classical themes. William Young Sellar, the third of the group, was born at Golspie in 1825. He was educated at Glasgow, and from 1863 to his death in 1890 was professor of humanity at Edinburgh University. The most distinctly literary of the three (for Blackie's eccentricities somewhat impaired the literary quality of his miscellaneous work), Professor Sellar, published in 1863 his "Roman Poets of the Republic," the most valuable book of its kind in English, and this was succeeded by his work on Virgil (1877) and "Horace and the Elegiac Poets" (1892), which while excellent did not quite reach the high plane of the earlier work.

Occupying the chair of Saint Augustine during four stormy years of the Middle Victorian era, 1868–1872, was a distinguished Scotsman, one of many natives of North Britain whom Scotland has given to the service of England, Archibald Campbell Tait, born in Edinburgh in December, 1811; died in London, December, 1882. Educated at Glasgow and Oxford, he was intended for the Presbyterian ministry, but took orders in the Anglican Church in 1836. A Churchman by conviction he remained a Scotsman in essentials all his life, but it was his misfortune to succeed to the Primacy at a period when acrimonious controversy was the order of the day, and ecclesiastical and religious problems called for the exercise of a firm hand in their settlement. Though personally beloved, his rulings entirely satisfied no party in the Church, and although in his earlier career he had openly protested against the doctrines of the

Tractarians he showed them a greater measure of tolerance when archbishop than many Churchmen thought fit. He succeeded Thomas Arnold as head master of Rugby School and became dean of Carlisle in 1859. He was appointed Bishop of London in 1856 and followed Longley as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1868. Besides the usual episcopal charges and sermons he published "The Dangers and Safeguards of Modern Theology" (1864), "The Word of God and the Ground of Faith" (1864), "The Present Condition of the Church of England" (1872), and contributed more or less frequently to the reviews.

Of greatly superior service to his day and generation than Archbishop Tait, though filling a far less important office, was his fellow Scotsman, John Tulloch, Principal of Saint Mary's College, Saint Andrews, who was born in Perthshire in 1823 and died at Torquay, Devonshire, in 1886. He was educated at Saint Andrews, and in 1845 was ordained at Dundee a minister in the Kirk of Scotland. Ten years later he was made Principal of Saint Mary's College, in 1859 was appointed one of Her Majesty's chaplains for Scotland, and became dean of the Chapel Royal in London in 1882, as well as dean of the Thistle. He was widely known as a broad-minded theologian, but although the founder of the Scottish Liberal Church party, he defended orthodoxy and was strongly opposed to disestablishment. He visited the United States on a lecturing tour in 1872, was appointed Moderator of the General Assembly in 1878, and edited *Fraser's Magazine* in 1879. His principal works, which cover a wide range of thought, include "Theism" (1855), "Leaders of the Reformation" (1859), "English Puritanism and Its Leaders" (1861), "Beginning Life" (1862), "The Christ of the Gospels and the Christ of Modern Criticism," "Rational

Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century" (1872), "The Christian Doctrine of Sin" (1876), "Modern Theories in Philosophy and Religion" (1884), "Movements of Religious Thought in Britain During the Nineteenth Century" (1885). A well written and appreciative biography of Principal Tulloch, by Mrs. Oliphant, was published in 1888 and speedily reached a third edition.

Two Scotsmen who achieved distinction of a purely literary character and who take rank as eminent critics were David Masson and John Nichol. The first of these was born at Aberdeen in 1822, and while intending to enter the Scottish ministry studied theology under Chalmers at Edinburgh University. Giving up his first intention he returned to Aberdeen to undertake the editorship of *The Banner*, a Free Church weekly, but in two years was back in Edinburgh, where he prepared several works for the "Educational Course," published by the Chambers Brothers, and wrote much for *Fraser's Magazine* and the *Dublin University Magazine*. The year 1847 found him in London where he was for a time secretary of the "Friends of Italy," a society which materially aided the cause of Italian freedom, and in 1852 he succeeded the poet Arthur Hugh Clough as professor of English Literature in University College, London. From 1858 to 1865 he was editor of *Macmillan's Magazine*, and from the year last named till 1895 he held the chair of English literature at Edinburgh. In 1879 he was made editor of the Register of the Scottish Privy Council and in 1893 Historiographer Royal for Scotland. He is the highest authority in whatever relates to the poet Milton, his great "Life of Milton" in six volumes appearing from 1858 to 1880. Masson also edited several editions of Milton's poems and an edition of De Quincey's works in fourteen volumes

(1889–91). His other literary labours comprise "Essays, Biographical and Critical" (1856, enlarged 1874), "Drummond of Hawthornden" (1873), "Recent British Philosophy" (1865), "British Novelists and Their Styles" (1859), "Edinburgh Sketches and Memories" (1892). In careful, scholarly editing Masson has few superiors. He died in Edinburgh, October, 1907.

Professor John Nichol was the son of the famous astronomer, John Pringle Nichol, and was born in Montrose in 1833. He was educated at Glasgow and Balliol College, Oxford, and held the chair of English Literature at Glasgow from 1862 to 1889. He often visited the United States, the first time in 1865, when he became acquainted with Longfellow and Emerson, and during the American Civil War was a prominent British champion of the cause of the North. He removed to London in 1889 and died there in 1894. He was popular and widely influential as a lecturer, was a discriminating critic and was master of a spirited, original style. The best example of his manner may be seen in his article on American literature written in 1882 for the ninth edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica. In addition to numerous contributions to reviews Professor Nichol was the author, among other volumes, of "Fragments of Criticisms" (1860), "Hannibal," a drama (1873) "Byron" in the "English Men of Letters Series" (1880), "American Literature: an Historical Review" (1882), "Robert Burns" (1882), "Lord Bacon's Life and Philosophy" (1887–89) and "Carlyle" (1892).

Several Scotsmen of the last century have shed lustre upon the name of Laing, but the various doings of the majority of them can be but barely touched upon here. They were: Alexander Gordon Laing (1793–1820), a native of Edinburgh who won renown as an African ex-

plorer, was the first European to enter Timbuctoo and was murdered a month later by hostile Arabs. David Laing (1793–1878) a noted antiquary, born in Edinburgh, was the friend of Scott and the editor of the works of John Knox, the poet Dunbar, and many other works of the same general character. His researches in the field of ancient Scottish verse were valuable and extended. Malcolm Laing (1762–1818) was a native of Kirkwall in the Orkney Islands who gave himself up to historical investigation. His "History of Scotland from the Union of the Crowns to the Union of the Kingdoms" furnishes pretty dry reading for the student of to-day, but it has the highly important merit of accuracy, a virtue sometimes lacking in works of greater brilliance.

Malcolm Laing's nephew, Samuel Laing, deserves rather more extended mention, and is probably the most distinguished member of the Laing family. His father, also named Samuel, wrote attractive volumes of travels in Scandinavia in the middle of the last century, and the son was born in Edinburgh in 1810. He studied at Saint John's College, Cambridge, was called to the bar in 1837 and entered upon a political career by becoming private secretary to Labouchere, president of the Board of Trade. From 1842 to 1847 he was secretary of the railway department and was soon looked upon as an authority on railway management. Through his suggestion the "parliamentary" rate of a penny a mile was established. He was managing director of the London, Brighton, and South Coast Railway 1848–55, sat in Parliament as a Liberal member for Wick 1852–57, and regained his seat in 1859. In the year just named he was made financial secretary to the Treasury and in 1860 became Finance Minister in India. Returning from the East in 1865 he again sat for Wick, and though defeated in 1868 was returned in 1873 for Orkney and Shetland,

and held his seat until 1885. Again made chairman of the Brighton line in 1867, he continued in this position till 1895, his talents as a railway administrator being widely recognized. Taking up authorship in later life he published "Modern Science and Modern Thought" in 1885, "Problems of the Future" in 1889, and "Human Origins" in 1892; books which have been much read by reason of their clarity of style as well as for their able treatment of modern scientific questions. Laing's many years of experience in public life and his responsible official positions were also factors of moment in gaining him a hearing. His long and useful life came to an end at Sydenham in August, 1897.

A pathetic interest attaches to the life story of David Gray, who died of consumption at the very opening of what seemed a promising poetic career. Born in Merkland, Dumbartonshire, in 1838, the year after the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne, he died in 1861 ere the early Victorian era was hardly closed. His education pointed to the ministry, but becoming a contributor to the *Glasgow Citizen* he decided on pursuing a literary life. He accordingly went to London in 1860, where he was materially aided by Monckton Milnes, subsequently Lord Houghton, but was unsuccessful in finding a publisher for his poems and suffered extreme poverty. His health soon broke down and he returned to Scotland to die. His principal poem, "The Luggie," was printed, with a preface by Milnes, in 1862. Shortly before his death he wrote a series of sonnets entitled "In the Gray Shadows." An enlarged edition of Gray's poems was published in 1874. In 1868 his friend, Robert Buchanan, published a biographical sketch in a volume called "David Gray and Other Poems."

During the first forty years of the last century, while the number of English women who were writing fiction

by no means amounted to the great host that are now thus engaged, it was still large, in which respect England differed materially from Scotland. Very few Scotswomen, comparatively speaking, attempted fiction. Mrs. Mary Brunton of the Orkney Islands (1778–1818), a close contemporary of Jane Austen, published in 1811 the once popular "Self-Control," which was followed in 1814 by "Discipline" (didactic tales which hit the prevailing taste), and Susan Ferrier, already mentioned, cultivated this field in North Britain, but they had few rivals among their countrywomen.

One novel-writing Scotswoman there was, however, who followed Miss Ferrier, speaking chronologically, for the works of the two women were not at all alike: Miss Catherine Sinclair, born in Edinburgh in 1800, and who died there sixty-four years later. In her lifetime her stories enjoyed a wide popularity in Great Britain and had a large circulation in the United States, and even continued to be read for some years afterwards. Among her many works, not all of which are fiction, are "Modern Accomplishments" (1836), a study of the education of Girls, "Modern Society" (1837), "Holiday House" (1839), "Shetland and the Shetlanders" (1840), "Jane Bouverie" (1846), "Modern Flirtations" (1855), "Beatrice," one of her best, "Torchester Abbey" (1857), "Anecdotes of the Caesars" (1858), "Sketches and Short Stories of Scotland" (1859).

When the great amount and variety of her work are taken into consideration with her high level of attainment, Mrs. Margaret Wilson Oliphant must be pronounced one of the most remarkable writers of her time. Born at Wallyford, near Musselburgh, Midlothian, April 4, 1828, she spent her first years with her parents near Glasgow, removing with them while still a child to Liverpool. She began to write early and

in 1849 published her first novel, "Passages in the Life of Mrs. Margaret Maitland," a story of Scottish life and character, which met with some favour then and is still esteemed among her best by some critics. It was succeeded in 1851 by "Caleb Field," and in the same year she was invited to become a contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine*, an offer which she accepted, and which led to a life-long association with that periodical, for not only did it contain many of her novels, but over one hundred articles in the way of reviews, etc. Her latest work, "Annals of a Publishing House" (1897) was a history of the house of Blackwood with which her name had been inseparably connected for nearly half a century.

In 1852 Miss Wilson was married to her cousin, Francis Wilson Oliphant, an artist in stained glass, who died of consumption in Rome in 1859, leaving his wife with scarcely any resources for the support of herself and her three children. Early in 1864 she lost her only daughter, and soon after this her brother failed in business and Mrs. Oliphant at once offered a home to him and his children. After some years of dependence upon her the brother died. In 1890 her oldest son, Cyril, died after a long illness, and in 1894 she lost her youngest son, Frank. Grief and care at last broke down her health, and on June 25, 1897, she died at Wimbledon, after a life which "had been one long sacrifice to others and in which she had enjoyed a very small share of happiness or peace."

During her literary career she published the astonishing number of 120 works, comprising, beside a long list of novels, volumes of history, biography, travels, description, and literary criticism. Her family was wholly supported by the labours of her pen and for nearly thirty years she lived in more or less retirement at

Windsor absorbed in her literary tasks. That she might have produced work of greater excellence than anything she has left behind her had she written less is quite possible, but possibly, also, she may have needed the stimulus of immediate necessity to write to best advantage. Her novels display plenty of invention as well as humour and pathos, but they are wanting in fullest insight and make appeal to the imagination and the emotions rather than to the strictly intellectual faculties. In her latest stories the constructive skill is not so apparent as earlier and she was inclined to hurry conclusions, but her studies of character are usually careful and sympathetic and give her a prominent place among novelists of the second rank.

Her earliest fictions were, like "Margaret Maitland," Scottish in locality and character and extraordinarily faithful in detail. Such were "Adam Graeme" (1852), "Magdalen Hepburn" (1854), "Lillieslief" (1855) and "The Laird of Norlaw" (1858). At intervals she subsequently returned to her native Scotland for her scenes and character, in whole or in part, as for example in "A Son of the Soil" (1866), one of her best works in some particulars though less read than some others, and "The Ladies Lindores" (1883). Much of her best and most artistic work is included in the series of "Chronicles of Carlingford" (1863–76), made up of "The Rector and the Doctor's Family" (1863), "Salem Chapel" (1864), "Miss Majoribanks" (1866), "The Perpetual Curate" (1864), and "Phoebe Junior" (1876). Others of great merit are "Within the Precincts" (1879), a well told story with Windsor for its *locale;* "Harry Joscelyn" (1881), "He That Will not When he May" (1880), and "The Primrose Path" (1878).

Several short tales of the supernatural by her, "The Little Pilgrim" (1880), "The Little Pilgrim in the

Unseen" (1882), "A Beleaguered City" and "Old Lady Mary," attracted much attention for their delicate handling of a theme it would have been extremely easy to have spoiled in the treatment. The first of them appeared anonymously for the reason, as Mrs. Oliphant once explained in private, that she "wished to say her say on a very important topic without the impertinence of a name."

Her biographies of Edward Irving, Saint Francis of Assisi, the Comte de Montalembert, Sheridan, and her husband's erratic kinsman, Lawrence Oliphant, cover a wide range of personality and although they are not works of the first rank in their kind they are nevertheless sympathetic and animated. In fields of work allied to these she was especially industrious, as her "Historical Sketches of the Reign of George II" (1869), "The Makers of Florence" (1876), "Literary History of England from 1790 to 1825" (1882), "Makers of Venice" (1887), "Royal Edinburgh" (1890), "The Reign of Queen Anne" (1894), and "Makers of Modern Rome" (1895). These are all pleasant and vivacious books, valuable rather as effectively arranged compilations than as contributions of moment to the literature of their subject and suffering somewhat in point of literary finish from the unavoidable haste of their composition. Mrs. Oliphant's "Autobiography and Letters," edited by H. Coghill, was published in 1899. It contains a very frank revelation of her personality which with one exception she never had touched upon even remotely in her books. This exception is to be found in the introduction to the stories included in "The Ways of Life" (1897). It is entitled "Ebb Tide" and reflects the utter weariness of the author's latest years. Much of Mrs. Oliphant's work must perish, much indeed has already been forgotten, but some few of her novels may hope for recog-

nition by another generation and in "The Chronicles of Carlingford" there surely abides some of the quality of endurance.

A Scottish novelist whose period of activity was shorter by some years than Mrs. Oliphant's, but who outlived her only by a single year, was William Black, who for nearly a generation enjoyed immense popularity in Great Britain and rather more, indeed, in the United States. Born in Glasgow, in 1841, he first took up painting, and this proving unremunerative he entered the field of journalism in his native city. Thence he went to London and obtaining a place on the *Morning Star* soon made his presence there felt. While representing his paper at the front in the war between Prussia and Austria he was taken prisoner. On the failure of the *Star* he became one of the staff of the *Daily News* and was for a time editor of the *Examiner*. His first novel, "James Merle" (1864), was an utter failure and a second fiction, "Love and Marriage," published four years later, virtually shared the same fate. The tide now turned and the publication of "A Daughter of Heth" was a literary event of the year 1871.

This book made Black immediately popular, as perhaps it deserved to do, for it was written with spirit and freshness and its characterizations were strongly original. Its author now relinquished journalism and gave his time solely to fiction. He wrote rapidly and in his later novels was given to repeating himself, but his popularity continued without any serious interruption until his death in December, 1898. Since that time his stories have not maintained quite their former vogue. "The Strange Adventures of a Phaeton" (1872) followed hard upon the "Daughter of Heth," but had not precisely the peculiar charm of "A Princess of Thule" (1873). "Madcap Violet" was inferior to these, but

"Macleod of Dare" (1878) was a far stronger piece of work. Its characterization is exaggerated and the effect that of melodrama, but it has vigour and power and holds the reader's interest with a firm grip.

Although a Londoner by residence Black was faithful to his Scottish instincts and continually transferred his canvas from England to Scotland. His novels abound in enthusiastic descriptions of Scottish scenery and his sportsman proclivities are revealed in the accounts of hunting, fishing and yachting which are frequently introduced into his novels. In spite of its manifest shortcomings Black never surpassed "Macleod of Dare" as a whole, in his subsequent fictions, though he may have done so in details. Among these latter are comprised "Three Feathers" (1881), "White Wings" (1880), "Sunrise" (1880), "Shandon Bells" (1883), "Judith Shakespeare" (1884), "White Heather" (1885), "In Far Lochaber" (1888), and "Wild Eelin" (1898). Black did not possess the makings of a great novelist. He could describe with all an artist's cleverness, but he had very little insight into the depths of human nature, and neither his women nor his men reflect humanity unerringly. He loved to contrast the life of London drawing-rooms with the free existence of northern Scotland, but only as an artist might do it, not as in any way laying bare the subtleties of character. "A Daughter of Heth" reveals him at his talented best, but the genius that some of his admirers acclaimed him he most certainly was not.

Although born in England, the Rev. John Watson, best known to the world at large as "Ian Maclaren," is fairly entitled to be enrolled among Scottish authors. His native place, to be sure, was Manningtree in Essex, where he first saw the light in 1850, but he came of Scottish parents and his ministerial and literary career

were closely associated with North Britain. He was educated at Edinburgh and Tübingen, and after being licensed by the Free Church of Scotland in 1874 became an assistant at the Barclay Church in Edinburgh. In the year following he was called to the Free Church in Logicalmond in Perthshire and in 1877 to Free Saint Matthew's Church in Glasgow, but relinquished the latter charge in 1880 to assume that of Sefton Park Presbyterian Church in Liverpool. Popular as a clergyman he came suddenly into notice as a literary figure by the publication in 1894 of a volume of short stories concerned with the delineation of Scottish life and character, entitled "Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush." It attracted general attention, both in Great Britain and the United States, his pseudonym of "Ian Maclaren" becoming as familiar in the latter country as in his own. The book abounded in humour as well as pathos and evinced entire understanding of the Scottish character. Its chief defect, one, too, that became more evident in succeeding volumes by him, was an atmosphere of self-consciousness. This did not materially interfere with his popularity among general readers, but seriously lessened the value of his work from an artistic point of view. Watson visited the United States on several occasions and in 1896 delivered the Lyman Beecher lectures at the Yale Divinity School, which were published the same year as "The Cure of Souls." While on a lecture tour in the United States in 1907 he was taken ill at Mount Pleasant, Iowa, where he died on May sixth.

Watson's first book was quickly followed by such fiction as "The Days of Auld Lang Syne" (1895), "Kate Carnegie" (1896), "A Doctor of the Old School" (1897), "Afterwards" (1898), and "Rabbi Saunderson" (1898), none of which quite equalled "The Bonnie

Brier Bush" in excellence. He did not confine his writing to fiction, however, as such works of religious character as "The Upper Room" (1895), "The Mind of the Master," "The Potter's Wheel" (1897), "Companions of the Sorrowful Way" (1898), "Doctrines of Grace" (1900) and "The Life of the Master" (1901) abundantly testify.

A much stronger and more original individuality than Watson's among Scottish writers was that of William Sharp (1856–1905), who wrote much in the way of verse, fiction, essays, and other works under his own name, and was discovered after his death to have been identical with "Fiona Macleod," hitherto presumed to have been a woman, and a native of the Hebrides. Among works published with his own name are lives of Shelley, Heine, and Browning; such fictions as "Wives in Exile," and "A London Romance;" "Exce Puella and Other Imaginings," and "Studies in Art;" and several collections of his own verse including "Lyrical Poems," "Transcripts from Nature and Other Poems," "Romantic Ballads and Poems of Phantasy." His acknowledged work covers a wide range and shows him to have been not only a versatile writer but a talented one as well, but his most original writing is that which in his lifetime was ascribed to Fiona Macleod. The contrast between the two personalities is very strong, and it is probable that the feminine one will endure the longer where literary fame is concerned. The supposed Fiona had apparently spent her life in the Hebrides and the islands of Iona and Arran, and her stories and poems illustrate Celtic legend and myth. They are most delicately conceived, and their originality and entire freshness of atmosphere attracted great attention, as could not fail to be the case. Among them are "Pharais," a romance (1895), "The Mountain Ro-

mance" (1895), "The Sin Eater and Other Tales" (1895), "The Washer of the Ford" (1896), "Green Fire" (1896), "The Laughter of Peterkin" (1902). The union of these talented personalities is a unique feature of modern literary annals.

By far the most prominent figure among literary Scotsmen in the closing decades of the nineteenth century was Robert Louis Balfour Stevenson, and after the lapse of sixteen years it maintains not only its original degree of prominence but even exceeds it. Widespread differences exist among critics concerning the character of his work, but that he made a deep and increasing impression upon the literature of his time is nowhere denied.

The only son of a civil engineer named Thomas Stevenson, he was born at Number Eight Howard Place, Edinburgh, Nov. 13, 1850. In his early childhood his health was very frail, and although he outgrew this condition to some extent he was never physically very strong. He at first intended to become a civil engineer like his father, but the profession proved too great a strain upon his health and after some years of study he was called to the Edinburgh bar in 1875. He never practised his profession and devoted several years to wanderings on the Continent and in Scotland, the fruits of which were given to the world in the volumes "An Inland Voyage" (1878) and "Travels with a Donkey" (1879). While at Fontainebleau in 1876 he first met Mrs. Osbourne, an American lady who subsequently became his wife, and two years afterward, on hearing of her ill health, he went to San Francisco. From want of means he crossed the Atlantic in the steerage and went as an emigrant across the United States, hardships which very greatly impaired his health. In May, 1880, he married Mrs. Osbourne and removed to the mining camp in Colorado, which he

described in "The Silverado Squatters," published in 1883. In the autumn of 1880 he took his wife and stepson to Edinburgh, where for a short time they lived with his parents, but his health becoming much worse they went to Davos, Switzerland, where they remained until May, 1881, the year in which his earliest volume of his essays, "Virginibus Puerisque," appeared. At the close of a summer in Scotland he returned to Davos, and after successive changes of residence necessitated by the precarious state of his health he made his home at Bournemouth, from January, 1884, to August, 1887.

By this time he had published in addition to the works already named, "Treasure Island," originally styled "The Sea Cook," "Familiar Studies of Men and Books," "New Arabian Nights," "Prince Otto," "A Child's Garden of Verses," "More New Arabian Nights," "The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," "Kidnapped," "The Merry Men and Other Tales," and "Underwoods," a book of verse; a large amount of writing for one so nearly an entire invalid as Stevenson. His father having died in May of 1887, Stevenson in company with his mother, his wife and his stepson, Lloyd Osbourne, left his Bournemouth home which he had named Skerryvore, and sailed for the United States. He spent the winter at Saranac Lake in the Adirondacks, where he wrote the major part of "The Master of Ballantrae," and the next June the family set sail from San Francisco in his schooner, the *Casco*. Six months were spent at Honolulu, where "The Master of Ballantrae" and "The Wrong Box" were completed, the latter a farcical romance written jointly with his stepson. Within this period he visited the leper settlement at Molokai, the immediate result of which was his celebrated scathing "Letter to Dr.

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Hyde," in vindication of Father Damien and his work in Molokai.

Stevenson continued his cruisings in the Pacific till the autumn of 1890, when he established himself and his family at Vailima in Samoa. Here he remained for the rest of his career, save for a brief visit to Hawaii, in the enjoyment of what for him was health and vigour, and here, while dictating his novel, "Weir of Hermiston," he died on December 3, 1894. He had become a general favourite with the gentle island people and the day following his death sixty Samoans carried his body to the top of the steep mountain Vaca, where he had expressed a wish to be buried. His friend, Sidney Colvin, edited (1894–98) the Edinburgh edition of Stevenson's works in twenty-eight volumes, and in 1899 two volumes of Stevenson's "Letters," similarly edited. "The Vailima Letters" written from Samoa had already been printed in 1895. The latest of his books which the brilliant author lived to see through the press was "The Ebb Tide," in September, 1894. The incomplete novel, "Saint Ives," was carried forward to a close by Mr. Quiller Couch, in 1897, but "Weir of Hermiston,"

> "Like the unfinished window in Aladdin's tower
> Unfinished must remain!"

Incomplete as it is there are not wanting those who pronounce it his masterpiece.

Stevenson's hold upon his readers is quite as firm in America as in Great Britain and his many admirers on both sides of the Atlantic have not invariably expressed their regard for his work in terms precisely discriminating. Even yet it is too soon to hope to arrive at a fairly just estimate of his work as a whole. "The

charm," says Mr. Gosse, "of the personal character of Stevenson and the romantic vicissitudes of his life are so predominant in the minds of all who knew him or lived within earshot of his legend, that they make the ultimate position which he will take in the history of English literature somewhat difficult to decide. That he was the most attractive figure of a man of letters in his generation is admitted; and the acknowledged fascination of his character was deepened, and was extended over an extremely wide circle of readers by the publication of his 'Letters' which have subdued even those who were rebellious to the entertainment of his books. It is therefore from the point of view of its 'charm' that the genius of Stevenson must be approached."

The distinguishing feature of Stevenson's art seems to consist in the fusing of a very decided and original vision with an unusually conscientious treatment of English. "He mastered his manner, and, as one may say, learned his trade, in the exercise of criticism and the reflective parts of literature before surrendering himself to powerful creative impulse." The majority of readers are attracted to him by his romances, but there are still many who prefer his letters and essays as examples of better literature, and on these it appears most probable that his fame will one day rest. His verse is greatly inferior to his prose, though the "Child's Garden of Verses" has a quality of its own that sets it quite apart from the rest of his poetry. The life of Stevenson has been written many times, not only in the half-dozen biographies by his cousin, Graham Balfour, and others, but in various sketches in periodicals, while able critics like Chapman and Henry James, to mention no others, have written thoughtful and discriminating estimates of his literary work. "Whatever may be the ultimate order of reputation among his

various books," observes Mr. Gosse, "or whatever posterity may ultimately see fit to ordain as regards the popularity of any of them, it is difficult to believe that the time will ever come in which Stevenson will not be remembered as the most beloved of the writers of that age which he did so much to cheer and stimulate by his example."

> "His was the unstinted language of the Scot,
> Clear, nimble, with the scriptural tang of Knox
> Thrust through it like the far strict scent of box,
> To keep it unforgot.
>
> "No frugal Realist, but quick to laugh,
> To see appealing things in all he knew,
> He plucked the sun-sweet corn his fathers grew,
> And would have naught of chaff."

With Robert Louis Stevenson this survey of the progress of Scottish letters during the better part of two centuries draws to its close, since the principle adopted of excluding living authors precludes mention of such well-known men of letters as Andrew Lang, James Barrie, William Archer and Samuel Crockett. It is sufficiently obvious that a survey of this character can lay no claim to being exhaustive, and the selection of certain authors and the omission of others whose claims may seem as great, or even greater, will no doubt appear more or less arbitrary to some readers. It only remains to be said that want of space was at least one governing factor in the problem. Had this not been the case there might well have been room for mention of the dramatist John Home (1722–1808) whose "Douglas" delighted theatre-goers in the middle of the eighteenth century; of the poets Allan Cunningham (1784–1842) and William Motherwell (1797–1835); of the novelists

John Galt (1779–1839) and Michael Scott (1789–1835); of the historians Patrick Fraser Tytler (1791–1849) and Sir Archibald Alison (1792–1867) whose "History of Europe" only the most resolute readers would dream of attacking now, though it was translated into many tongues, Arabic being one; of Basil Hall (1788–1844), the British naval officer whose "Travels in North America" once kindled the ire of over-sensitive Americans; William Bell Scott (1811–1890), a poet who won fame as an artist also; John Pringle Nichol (1804–1859), the astronomer, whose "Architecture of the Heavens" was so widely known; and George Macdonald, novelist, poet, and mystic.

But it is not alone in literary annals that Scotland can point to a seemingly endless roll of famous names; in the field of art her triumphs have been quite as marked, as we shall discover in the brief glance at the Scottish school of painting, which must close this chapter. That the progress of painting north of the Tweed attracted comparatively little attention in England till the latter half of the last century must not be taken to imply that painting in the northern part of the kingdom was necessarily in a backward condition up to that time. Quite the contrary. Scottish art flourished, though English prejudice did not always readily admit it.

Three Scottish painters, Jamesone, Scougal and Aikman, appear to have been representative artists of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the first of these having been termed in quite recent times "the Scottish Vandyck." They were all portrait painters, as might be expected from a knowledge of their era, and best among the works of Jamesone is a portrait of Lady Mary Erskine, which must have been executed prior to 1640. Scougal's portraits are fewer in number

than Jamesone's, and in the Scottish National Gallery is a portrait of Scougal himself. His works reveal careful modelling but have no lightness of touch. Aikman was the latest of the three, a pleasing but not an original artist, and many portraits by him are extant, those of the poets Allan Ramsay, Gay and Thomson being of the number. Aikman, who was born in 1662 and died in 1731, first practised his art in Edinburgh, but like many Scottish artists he presently went to London and set up a studio there.

The Academy of Saint Luke, which several artists and lay persons established in Edinburgh in 1729, held together for a short time only, but it served to stimulate the Scottish art of the period, and the Academy which the Glasgow painters, the Foulis brothers, founded in Glasgow in 1753, did still more. About 1775 the Academy was closed and its collection of pictures dispersed, but it had not existed for twenty years in vain. Allan Ramsay, the son of the poet and a pupil of the Saint Luke Academy, was the first Scottish painter who rose to prominence in London. His works abound in his native country, almost every ancient family mansion being not without one or more examples of his art. He was a skilful rather than a strong artist and his custom of placing the figure in profile and showing the face at a three-quarter angle was greatly admired. Ramsay was a social favourite and lived in much style in London, counting many notable personages of the time among his friends, and having Voltaire and Rousseau among his correspondents. It is quite possible that greater attention to his profession and less to social life might have given Ramsay a better title to remembrance than is now his.

The first of the Foulis Academy pupils to win a name for himself was Alexander Runciman (1736–1785), who

became a friend of Fuseli's while visiting Rome, and Fuseli's influence it may well have been that decided him to devote his attention to historical painting. In a small chapel attached to Saint Patrick's Church in the Cowgate, Edinburgh, Runciman is represented by four panels, in one of which appears the "Prodigal Son," a figure in profile, the original of which was the unfortunate Scottish poet Robert Fergusson, whose verses are quoted on another page. Runciman's brother John, who died at twenty-four, was the more original artist, his "Flight into Egypt," "Christ and His Disciples on the Road to Emmaus," "The Temptation" and "King Lear" displaying much individuality. These are all contained in the Scottish National Gallery, as is also the portrait group painted by themselves, "Alexander Runciman and John Brown."

David Allan (1744–1796) studied at the Glasgow Academy, and early turning away from the fashionable classicism of the period devoted himself to delineation of pastoral scenes. In this respect he may be styled the forerunner of Wilkie. Finding no market for his pastoral paintings he then gave attention to producing etchings, among which are a well-known series of designs illustrating Ramsay's "Gentle Shepherd." Jacob More (1740–1793) was a noted landscapist, practising that department in Rome for a score of years and with signal success. Goethe visited More's studio with Angelica Kauffmann in 1787 and was greatly taken with More's showy canvases. Gavin Hamilton (1730–1797), unlike More, inclined strongly to classic subjects, "Agrippina Weeping over Germanicus," "The Death of Lucretia" and others. In occasional visits to Scotland he painted various portraits, and a group of these may be seen in the Scottish Portrait Gallery, but their artistic value is not great. Sir George Chal-

mers (d. 1791), David Martin (1736–1798), George Willison (1741–1797), John Donaldson (1737–1801) were Scottish artists especially associated with portraiture in the second half of the eighteenth century, and so also was Archibald Skirving (1749–1819), the only one of the five who practised his art entirely in Scotland. At first known as a miniaturist he visited Italy somewhat late in life, and afterward confined himself almost entirely to pastel.

During the period we have been considering, the eighteenth century in its earlier half and the closing years of the preceding one, painting was more or less of an exotic art in Scotland. The majority of the population knew little about it and cared still less, and even the better informed regarded it somewhat askance. It reflected nothing of the life of Scotland historic or domestic, its artists as a whole preferring to confine their energies "to ideals from which the study of nature was almost excluded." The beginnings of the break with established conventions may not be easy to trace, but the existence of a distinctive Scottish School of Painting is due without question to the example and vigorous personality of one man, Sir Henry Raeburn. The times may have been ripe for the change, but this would have mattered little had there been no original mind to assume leadership.

Born in Edinburgh in 1756, of an old Border family, Raeburn was educated at Heriott's Hospital till his apprenticeship to an Edinburgh goldsmith in 1771. His talents in drawing led to his being given opportunity for study and he was introduced to Martin, already mentioned, and who was then the fashionable portrait painter of the Scottish capital, for instruction. Later he went to Rome, where he served Ramsay as assistant, but not much is known of his experiences there, and in

1787 he was back in Edinburgh, having married a woman of wealth when scarcely of age, a circumstance which fortunately did not lead to any abatement of industry on his part. For thirty-six years after his return to his native city he ranked first among Scottish portrait painters "making his own and all succeeding generations of Scotsmen his debtors for the work so quickly accomplished during these eventful years." Raeburn had just resumed his brush after a short tour in Fife with Sir Walter Scott and other friends when he was taken ill, and died in his beloved Edinburgh, July 8, 1823. On the façade of the National Portrait Gallery his statue is to be seen and a tablet to his memory is in the churchyard of Saint John's Episcopal Church.

Raeburn's earliest known portrait is a full length of "George Chalmers of Pittencrieff," which is assigned to the year 1778, but a series of eight portraits at Raith (1780–1795), gives the story of his development through a period of fifteen years. Two of his most successful canvases painted when he was not far from forty are those of "Dr. Nathaniel Spens" and "Sir John Sinclair;" the first a commission from the Royal Company of Archers. "Clad in the picturesque costume then worn by the Royal Body Guard, Spens — seen full face — is set against the painter's conventional landscape with, for this special occasion, the national symbol, erect and prickly, in the foreground." By several critics the "Sinclair," painted a little later, is given a higher place, while others deem it wanting in the reticence perceptible in the "Spens."

In the first decade of the last century Raeburn reached perhaps his highest development, while his popularity was unbounded in his native land. All through Scotland his pictures are to be seen in homes and picture galleries and a careful catalogue of his

portraits shows 701 to his credit, though only about 150 bear any date. From this time onwards "it is in the gradual acquisition of those transition tones which give bloom and subtlety to the countenance, and in the enrichment of his scheme of chiaroscuro that Raeburn's future development consists. In much that pertains to the incidence of light, he sometimes anticipates qualities that are considered quite modern, as did Velasquez in a more consistent way two hundred years earlier."

Two masterly portraits that should be named as of this period are those of "Colonel Alastir Macdonnell of Glengarry" and "Major William Clunes," which hang side by side in the Scottish National Gallery. The "Glengarry," the presumed prototype of Fergus McIvor of "Waverley," possesses all the accessories of a Highland chief; the Clunes is an equally distinctive picture of a British officer. Soon after the exhibition of the "Glengarry" Raeburn was elected Associate and in 1815 full member of the Royal Academy. But Raeburn did not confine himself to robust portraits of men, and in his latest years he painted numbers of portraits of women, amongst the most noted being that of "Mrs. James Campbell," "one of those old ladies, survivals of an earlier generation, of whom one reads in countless memoirs, and who seem almost as historic as their male compeers." He oftener painted youth and early middle age and one of his triumphs in portraiture of the latter period of life is that of "Mrs. George Kinnear."

"It should be borne in mind," says the critic McKay, that "in considering the Scottish painter's place in art one or two things must be kept in mind. First he was one of the few very capable men who have devoted themselves entirely to portraiture. . . . Again, he differs

from the great portraitists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in that he is not the outcome of a long line of able predecessors. Such forerunners as he had in his own country had, one may say, no influence on him. He was the founder, as well as the greatest exponent of his school, and this must count in weighing his genius with that of others."

In the fuller meaning of the term Raeburn was not a colourist, but on the whole his best pictures compare well with those of pronounced colourists, for in the place of the subtle qualities of complex processes of colouring his pigment retains the freshness of direct application. The distinctive feature of his work is its modernity, and it is this which lends his portraits of the men and women of a century and more ago their peculiar charm in our eyes. It was fortunate for Scotland that he elected to remain at home instead of going to London, for the example thus set is responsible for the retention north of the Border of a vigorous school of art on lines of its own that would otherwise have been impossible. When he died in 1823, there was already in the Scottish capital, says McKay, "a school of portraiture, founded on his practice, for its exponents had the something implied in the term, and that something they owed to the stimulating art of Raeburn."

Naturally so forceful an artist as Raeburn had followers, but they were successors, not direct imitators, with one exception, George Watson. Influenced by him they were far from being mere copyists of his manner. Watson was eleven years younger than Raeburn, and after studying under Reynolds opened a studio in Edinburgh. His earliest work reflects the influence of Sir Joshua, his subsequent achievement reveals that of Raeburn, whose vigorous characterization he could not quite secure. His method shows a continual alternation

between an insipid manner and a heavy handed imitation of Raeburn. Watson's nephew, Sir John Watson Gordon, was the ablest of Raeburn's followers. He aspired to become an historical painter, but after a dozen years spent on historical themes he turned to portraiture, though for ten years more he occasionally dallied with history. Born in 1788 he lived till 1864, becoming President of the Royal Scottish Academy in 1841. His best work is to be noted in such strongly conceived portraits as those of "Lord Cockburn" (1853), the "Provost of Peterhead" (1854) and "David Cox" (1855). His inferiority is shown in his painting of flesh tints, which are wanting in the inner glow that gives life to the features, and in the heaviness of his half tones. His technique, however, nearly equals that of some men much superior to him in other details.

Next to Watson Gordon, the strongest of Raeburn's successors was John Graham Gilbert, in whom the Raeburn influence is least perceptible. One of his best pictures is "The Love Letter" (1829). He was given to fancy subjects, but he did not eschew portraiture, and the bust portrait of John Gibson, the sculptor, is one of his most admirable works. His full length portrait of Sir John Watson Gordon is excellent and so are his portraits of women. John Syme (1795–1861), Colvin Smith (1795–1875), Smellie Watson (1796–1864) and William Yellowlees (1796–1856) continued the Raeburn succession, but the fact of the succession is much less marked in Francis Grant (1803–1878), who alternated between fashionable portrait painting and fox hunting. He possessed talent and industry, and though his average accomplishment is slight in substance he now and then executed work considerably above the average. In the study at Abbotsford is a small full length of Scott painted by Grant in 1832. Sir Daniel Macnee

(1806–1882) was a greater artist than Grant and like him carried on the Raeburn tradition of portraiture. His masterpiece is "Charles Mackay as Nicol Jarvie," which "will always hold a foremost place amongst Scottish portraits." His "Lady in Grey" is of no ordinary merit, and his "Robert Dalgleish" (1874), though one of his latest works, shows no diminution of earlier excellence.

Although David Wilkie (1785–1841) was nearly thirty years the junior of Raeburn, he shared with him the distinction of founding a Scottish School, and his influence was not only greater but more lasting. Raeburn's technique was his own and the quality of his vision was more nearly that of the artists of to-day. "It was different with Wilkie," says McKay. "From the day he could handle a brush, he seems to have accepted the Dutch and Flemish *genre* painters as his models both in respect of technique and arrangement." Wilkie had his aim very clearly before him and was under no delusions regarding it or his own place in regard to it and the world at large. As MacColl has well put it: "He took his own measure modestly, and his programme frankly, that of entertainer to a middle-class public." To quote from Wilkie's own "Remarks on Painting:"

"To know the taste of the public — to learn what will best please the employer — is to an artist the most valuable of all knowledge, and the most useful to him whose skill and knowledge it calls into exercise." In its essence, then, Wilkie's programme was to render himself intelligible not only to a public, but to *the* public, and to impress it sympathetically. Though Wilkie's ideals were Flemish he did not follow them blindly, and in "The Village Recruit," "Pitlessie Fair" and "Village Politicians," all executed when he

was about twenty, his observations of Nature withheld him from the exaggerations of his Flemish models. He removed to London in 1805, taking these pictures with him, and they secured him immediate attention, "The Blind Fiddler" being painted for his patron, Sir George Beaumont, when the artist was yet in his twenty-first year. The pictures named were deeply impressed with the Scottish character, and so was "The Rent Day," studied from his birthplace of Cults (1808). "The Village Festival" (1812) is as strongly English. The contrast is worth noting as it proves that the artist had taken colour to a considerable extent from his English environment.

Subsequent successes were "Blind Man's Buff" (1813), possibly his most popular canvas, "The Letter of Introduction," which dispassionate critics are disposed to account his masterpiece, "Duncan Gray," "Distraining for Rent," the pathos of which makes strong appeal to the beholder, "The Pedlar," "The Rabbit on the Wall," and "The Penny Wedding," for which the artist once more turned to Scotland for his inspiration. "Reading the Will" (1821), "Chelsea Pensioners" (1822) painted for the Duke of Wellington, and "The Parish Beadle" were especially popular and with them his name is perhaps most inseparably associated. His style after this underwent certain changes, a larger scale being chosen, but the change was not altogether for the best. The altered manner was due to impressions derived from extended travels on the Continent, especially in Italy, where the larger, bolder treatment of a theme by Italian artists led him to attempt to assimilate in his own work somewhat of the foreign method.

One result of his modified theories was an increase in the quantity of work done by him after 1828, but

his first works at this time, the "Earl of Kellie" (1829) and "Viscount Melville" (1831), do not exhibit any material falling off in excellence. "The Preaching of Knox" (1832) reveals a forcing of the scheme of light and shade which is far from pleasing, and "The First Earring" (1835) evinces want of character in the brush work although the colour remains luminous. Two canvases of importance may be assigned to the year 1838, "Discovering the Body of Tippoo Sahib," and "Queen Victoria Presiding at the Council," the former sharing with the "Napoleon and Pope Pius VII" the distinction of being the only examples of his subject pictures with figures of life scale. Wilkie was master of the art of etching, in addition to his other attainments, and his etching of "The Lost Receipt" can hardly be too highly praised. The painter's popularity, great in his own day, still continues, and his brother artists have never stinted their admiration for his talents. On the occasion of the Wilkie Centenary Sir John Millais said: "In the history of Art there has been no superior to him for knowledge of composition, beautiful and subtle drawing, portrayal of character and originality."

While Raeburn in certain respects stood alone as a portrait painter, Wilkie had contemporaries not a few, some of whom came more or less under his influence while others remained unaffected by it. Two of the more distinguished were William Allan (1782–1850) and Andrew Geddes (1783–1844). Both possessed a vigorous personality, but the former in his day was the more highly esteemed. Allan travelled extensively in the East and his chosen themes were commonly Oriental, "The Slave Market, Constantinople," being especially characteristic of his manner.

Geddes is an artist difficult to classify. Except for his "Draught Players" (1809), a purely *genre* work

showing the influence of Wilkie throughout, he was almost entirely a portrait artist, yet he was not in spirit a successor of Raeburn. Among his most successful portraits are those of Wilkie, George Sanders, the miniaturist, Brydone the traveller, and the artist's mother. He also executed several Scriptural compositions, and several figures symbolizing some fancy, the best of these last being his "Summer," for which a daughter of Alexander Nasmyth, the artist, furnished the inspiration. Like Wilkie, Geddes was skilled as an etcher, his excursions in this field being much admired. His ideals were high, but in his lifetime he never secured his full share of recognition, though Time has since done something to adjust values more nearly.

Other contemporaries of Wilkie deserving mention were Alexander Fraser (1786–1865), his assistant for twenty years, whose "Tam o' Shanter" is one of his best pictures; William Lizars (1788–1859), whose "Reading the Will" and "A Scotch Wedding" are in the Scottish Gallery; and William Kidd (1796–1863). Kidd's "Cobbler's Shop" was painted at thirteen and he frequently exhibited at the Royal Academy after his removal to London about 1821. His talent was considerable and his subjects mainly illustrative of sport. Lizars's work exhibits dramatic fire and observation of character, and the two pictures of his above named were not, as might be supposed, suggested by Wilkie's paintings similarly entitled, but executed several years earlier.

In the art history of any country landscape painting is a late development, and in regard to Scotland this is especially true. "In portrait and figure painting the northern may be said to be fairly abreast of the southern division of the island in point of time, but nearly half a century divides the painters who first seriously practised

landscape in England and Scotland respectively—Richard Wilson and Alexander Nasmyth." The latter (1758–1840) did not rank especially high as a painter though as engineer, architect and landscape gardener he rose to distinction, but his work in landscape marks the opening of a new era in Scottish art. His pictures by no means show entire escape from the prevailing classic conventions but they do reveal a hitherto unfelt perception of naturalism. His son Patrick (1787–1831) who settled in London in 1808 and became known as "the English Hobbema," seems to have been for the most part unimpressed by the new influence, though in one or two of his compositions a feeling for English landscape is perceptible. A far stronger personality than either of the Nasmyths was the Rev. John Thomson of Duddingston (1778–1840). He seldom left Scotland and found his subjects mainly in his own country. He was a tireless worker, 226 pictures being catalogued in well-known collections, and the total is much greater. "Thomson," says McKay, "was a born painter, and had the delight in and command over his material which distinguish painting from mere coloured design. His defects lie in a different direction and were inevitable under the circumstances. He was an amateur, and as such precluded from the thoroughness of technique which separates the trained artist from the ablest of those who devote to it only a portion of their energies . . . it could not be otherwise. The long Divinity course and the pastoral duties of the country charge which came to him so early absorbed the greater part of his time and attention during the period when the foundation of the painter's craft must be laid."

Thomson's merit is that he aroused among Scottish painters an appreciation of the pictorial aspects of their country. His three contemporaries, John and Andrew

Wilson (1774–1855 and 1780–1848) and Hugh Williams the Welshman (1773–1829), went far afield for their subjects, "but the minister of Duddingston," declares McKay, "gave the lead, and gave it grandly to those later painters who have better interpreted the native accent of Scottish landscape. . . . For vigour of conception and imaginative power none of his Scottish followers have excelled him." John Wilson, who spent much of his long life in London was the much admired painter of sea and coast scenes; Andrew Wilson resided in Italy much of the time and was a capable though not a brilliant artist. Williams set up a studio in Edinburgh early in his career and was never long absent from it except on professional tours in Italy and Greece. His pictures were mainly of Grecian subjects and he was commonly spoken of as "Grecian Williams."

As the nineteenth century moved onward landscape became increasingly characteristic of Scottish art and the more versatile artists practised in this department as in others. William Simson (1800–1847) was one of these and can not be classed under any one head, since he painted with the same graceful facility landscapes with and without figures, portraits, animals, marines, interiors, still life and historical scenes. Removing to London in 1838 he produced only figure subjects subsequently, but among Scottish landscapists he maintained an honourable rank as the painter of "Solway Moss," "Auchendennan Bridge," and other scenes, the first of these being his most impressive canvas.

Three figure painters of sterling excellence deserve mention here, Thomas Duncan (1807–1845), Sir George Harvey (1806–1876) and Robert Lauder (1803–1869). The first of these is closely associated with the memory of Scott, since eleven of his subjects are taken from the novelist's pages. They rank among his best works,

as does also his Shakespearean figure piece, "Anne Page Inviting Slender to Dinner" (1837). As an illustrator of Scottish life from many sides Harvey is one of the most strictly national artists, although he took up his abode in London early. He was deeply impressed by the history of the Covenanters and by the great Disruption movement in 1843 as well, and his Covenanting pictures, "Communion," "Preaching," and "Baptism," are very striking in general effect. So also are the Disruption paintings, "Quitting the Manse" and "Sabbath in the Glen," and in such pictures as these the austerely religious nature of the Scotsman is well apprehended by the artist. Representative of other aspects of Scottish life are "The Village School," the "School Examination" (1832), "The Skule Skailin," "The Curlers" (1835), "Village Bowlers" (1852) and "Sheep Shearing," the last named indicating the transition to figure painting. Harvey's work in its entirety makes its strongest appeal to the emotions and through its interpretation of such varied aspects of national life and sentiment. The ablest of these three artists was Robert Lauder, who, like Duncan, displayed a strong inclination to selection of scenes from the "Waverley Novels," the impetus being undoubtedly afforded by his having been concerned while still a student in illustrating an edition of Scott. Henceforward he alternated for nearly a generation between Waverley themes, portraiture and Scriptural subjects.

Lauder married a daughter of Thomson of Duddingston in 1833 and the two lived in Rome for a series of years. His finest work, all things considered, is probably his "Trial of Effie Deans" (1842), and besides this theme from "The Heart of Midlothian" he chose others from "Guy Mannering," "Ivanhoe," "Old Mortality," "Quentin Durward" and "The Fair Maid of Perth,"

not less than four being derived from the last-named work. Among his Scriptural works are "Ruth" (1843), "Christ Walking on the Sea" (1850) and two versions of "Christ Teacheth Humility," the superior of the two being exhibited in 1848. Lauder returned to Edinburgh in 1852 on being made Master of the Trustees' Academy, superintending the Life and Antique departments for nine years. In this capacity his enthusiasm and charm of personality influenced Scottish art more directly than any individual painter has since done.

Born in the same year with Harvey, David Scott (1806–1849) and William Dyce (1806–1864) were alike in their aversion to the aims and methods of Scottish figure painting, but they differed widely in other respects. Scott's art was strongly individual but it was developed only through a series of discouragements. Scriptural, historical and allegorical themes were all handled by him, but his was a many-sided art and his studies in black and white were exceedingly meritorious. "Wallace, Defender of Scotland," a triptych, "Vasco de Gama," "The Traitor's Gate," and "Puck Fleeing from the Dawn," are among his most representative works, the second of these being ranked by McKay as Scott's supreme effort.

Dyce, who was a native of Aberdeen, mastered his craft early and settled down in the Scottish capital as a portrait painter. He had already painted two masterly portraits of "Harriet Maconochie" and his own son, when he became connected with the Government Schools of Design. This association lasted ten years and after this time his technique exhibits a blending of the manners of the Primitives and the Pre-Raphaelites. He painted few easel pictures henceforth and devoted the bulk of his attention to frescoes in the House of Lords, Buckingham Palace and Osborne. His

historical frescoes possess much interest, but had he continued in the line first marked out for himself he would in all likelihood have been classed among the foremost portraitists of his century.

James Eckford Lauder (1812–1869) a younger brother of Robert, worked in a similar vein, his subjects being mainly suggested by Scott or Shakespeare, themes from the latter being the most numerous. Scenes from "Tempest" were favourites with him and from Scott's "Pirate" he thrice repeated "Minna and Brenda." His famous "Ten Virgins" is familiar throughout Scotland, but "The Parable of Forgiveness" (1847) now in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, is of more importance. Lauder's "Bailie Duncan Maewheeble at Breakfast" has been termed "one of the happiest translations ever made from the library to the painters' art."

David Roberts (1796–1864), a native of Edinburgh, began his career as a scene painter, but about 1821 interested himself in subjects obtainable in the picturesque Scottish capital, and soon afterward in the ruined abbeys of the Lowlands. Extending his researches to the Continent he presently developed to the full his chief talent, the pictorial representation of architecture. He is perceived at his best in his church interiors which harmonize with the monochromatic method he preferred. His technique was simple and did not alter with the years, the "Exterior of Antwerp Cathedral," executed in 1827, and the "Chancel of Saint Paul's, Antwerp" (1847), both exhibiting it. He painted many Eastern scenes, but his solemn stately interiors are his finest work by far. Roberts was one of the most successful artists of his time, so far as the winning of fame and fortune is concerned, but his art was limited, never reaching the deeper emotions and lacking versatile perception and the charm of the best

technique. Considered strictly within his limitations he displays very decided talent and his work delighted his contemporaries.

Horatio Macculloch (1806–1867) was the most popular of Scottish landscapists in the years between 1838 (when he established himself in Edinburgh) and his death, but if over-rated then he is needlessly undervalued at present. In his time tourists were haunting the Highlands in rapidly increasing numbers each year, sent thither by the genius of Scott, and Macculloch's pictures of "Loch Achwray," "Glencoe," "My Heart's in the Highlands," "Dunstaffnage Castle," and many other Highland views, came in season to harmonize with the prevailing taste for beholding natural scenery. The painter's defects were a too facile brush and a want of true atmosphere.

Two notable Scottish artists of the Early and Middle Victorian epochs were John Phillip (1817–1867) and James Drummond (1816–1877). Phillip's earliest works are entirely national in character as shown by such titles as "Highland Courtship," "The New Scholar," "A Scotch Baptism," "A Highland Lassie," "Presbyterian Catechizing," and "The Spae-wife of the Clachan" (1851). Not far from the time when the last-named picture appeared the artist went to Spain for his health and the entire change in surroundings wrought an equal change in the nature of his work. Not only was his treatment broader but continuous development was perceptible. The first picture produced after his return, "A Letter Writer, Seville," declared the change and after a second visit came "The Prison Window, Seville" (1857). Other and stronger Spanish compositions followed: "Gossips at a Well," "The Huff," "Agua Benedita," "The Water Drinkers," "La Gloria — A Spanish Wake," "A Chat Round the Brasero," and

"The Early Career of Murillo." It has been said of Phillip that he restored to the Scottish School of painting on a wider range and a more striking key the strong qualities of virility and permanence which Raeburn had infused into it two generations before.

Drummond, whose forte was historical painting, was the unwearied delineator of Scotland's past in general and of its capital in particular. During forty-three years he sent but one portrait to the Scottish Academy and in 1843, when he exhibited a landscape, he signed it James Drummond, *amateur*. He was industrious and his compositions were elaborate in conception, but they interest the beholder from the antiquarian standpoint rather than from the æsthetic one. His best work is seen in "The Porteous Mob" (1855) in which with sure dramatic feeling the artist has only hinted at the end of the tragedy in a few figures seen against or barely lighted by the smoky glare of the torches.

Of several north of England men closely associated with the progress of Art in Scotland, Samuel Bough (1822–1878) was the ablest. Born in Carlisle, his art life was mainly spent in Glasgow and Edinburgh and his fame is essentially Scottish. His popularity never knew any abatement and his work never lacked purchasers. The most characteristic of his works are the two pictures of the Glasgow Broomielaw. He worked both in oil and water colour, especially excelling in the latter. Less popular than Bough, but still a landscapist of much merit, was Alexander Fraser (1822–1899). Contemporary with these artists were the landscapists John Wintour (1825–1882), Milne Donald (1819–1866), whose fame came late in his career, James Cassie (1819–1879), a painter of marines, and Waller Paton (1828–1895) who delighted in painting Highland scenery.

A Scottish artist less known in Scotland than in Eng-

land, and intimately associated with the English Pre-Raphaelites, was William Bell Scott (1811–1890), a minor poet and the friend of Rossetti. Noel Paton (1821–1901) was a prolific artist in the realm of fancy, his composition being his strongest point. His "Ancient Mariner" designs are widely known, and in many of his pictures the literary influence of Shelley, Keats and Tennyson may be detected. In the third quarter of the last century the brothers John and Thomas Faed (1820–1902 and 1826–1900) were extremely popular *genre* artists, "Faults on Both Sides" being one of the best of the canvases by Thomas Faed and "Annie's Tryst" among those by the elder brother.

Two other artists of more than ordinary attainments were Sir William Fettes Douglass (1822–1891) and James Archer (1823–1904). The first of these might have been more widely famous had he not remained in Scotland instead of migrating to London as so many of his artistic fellow countrymen have done. Beginning with portraits he soon passed to the delineation of themes from poetry and fancy, from history and romance, and especially from the threshold of the supernatural. Some of his titles will serve to show the versatility of his talent — "The Friend's Return from beyond the Grave," "The Spell," "Don Quixote Reading the Romances," "The Bibliomaniac," "Oldbuck and Lovel," from Scott's "Antiquary," "Hudibras and Ralph," "The Conspirators," "Hudibras and the Lawyer," "Her Grandmother's Gown" and "When the Sea Gives up Its Dead," of which last one critic has said: "No wail of Border ballad has a deeper pathos than this painted story of the sea."

Archer's first canvas exhibited at the Scottish Academy was "The Child Saint John in the Wilderness" (1843), and it was followed for fifteen years by Scriptural

subjects and fanciful scenes, while at a later period scenes from the Arthurian legend occupied him more or less — "Morte d'Arthur" (1861), "King Arthur in Quest of Excalibur," and the "Parting of Arthur and Guinevere." It is in the first of the Arthurian pictures that Archer reaches high water mark both in sentiment and execution. In the latter part of his career he gave himself chiefly to portraits and single figure subjects; among the former we may note those of "Sir Daniel Macnee" and "Professor Blackie," and as illustrating the latter the attractive picture entitled "The King Over the Water" (1877). In the last named canvas a Jacobite maiden is represented as responding to the Stuart toast after the custom known only to Jacobite enthusiasts.

The last two decades of the nineteenth century witnessed the advent of new phases of art in Scotland, the artists mostly concerned with the movement being connected with Glasgow. At first their manner was scouted as foreign, but the distinctly national character of their art was presently recognized. Of this newer development of Scottish art a very recent writer, von Mach, has declared that "while there is much that is pleasing in British academic circles, the germ of progress doubtless rests with the Scotchman. Strangely enough theirs is a democratic art, so that the time may soon come when Great Britain will lose her proud position as the only aristocrat among the artistic nations of the world."

To enter upon discussion of the merits of the Glasgow School must not be undertaken at the very end of this all too fragmentary and imperfect summary of the progress of Scottish art through more than two centuries. Moreover, if it were not only to do its leaders a distinct injury by so hurriedly touching upon their art

and its principles, the ruling which has been adopted in regard to Scottish authors must apply to Scottish artists also, — that of excluding living persons from our survey. The most that can be done here is to name a very few of the foremost exponents of the school with the title of one or more pictures by each appended. Such are John Lavery, "The Croquet Party;" James Guthrie, "Afternoon Tea" (pastel), "Evening — Helensburgh" (pastel); Joseph Crawhall, "The Cockatoo," "The Black Rabbit;" and Edward Walton, "The Sun Dial," "Dora."

It may seem to some readers of this chapter, devoted to the progress of Scotland since the Battle of Culloden, as if too much has been made of the literary and artistic aspects as well as certain minor phases of that progression, and too little of the historical features of the subject. A thoughtful consideration of the case will show, nevertheless, that the disproportion arises from the nature of the circumstances attaching to it — indeed the disproportion is rather fanciful than actual. And for the following reason.

The fact should not be lost sight of that Scottish history, as distinct from English annals, virtually closed when the second Jacobite rebellion had proved a disastrous failure. In that sense there *was* no Scottish history. Henceforward the annals of the two nations were, so far as political matters were concerned, not to be separated the one from the other. Local events there were to be recorded, ecclesiastical happenings of importance, like the separation of the Free Church from the Kirk of Scotland in 1843, but no political transactions of moment with which Scotland was concerned to the entire exclusion of England. The two nations had become one, or at least were every day becoming more nearly one, and that one was Great

Britain. The glory of England was to be the glory of the country north of the Border, too, of the Scottish Highlands as well as of the Lowlands. Jealousies there were, jealousies that in minor matters make themselves felt at times even in the twentieth century. Misunderstandings and misreadings of Scottish and English character on both sides there were likewise, and some such there are still, but in vital matters the solidarity of the nation is apparent north of the Tweed as well as south of it. Such being the condition of affairs Scottish history in the larger sense and as an individual thing is virtually non-existent.

What Scotland is to-day is what her people at home have made her in the last 150 years. She has given to the world great soldiers, none greater; brave sailors, none braver; yet her soldiers and her sailors have not contributed to the making of Scotland by itself but to that of the Great Britain of which she has long been a vital part. Her history has been made by her merchants, her manufacturers, her engineers, her architects, her theologians, her writers of songs, her weavers of fiction, her painters, her metaphysicians and her philosophers. These have made her history; it is a history to be proud of, but it is not the record of national politics.

The literary annals of Scotland since Culloden constitute the major part of Scotia's history; indeed her *literature* is her history, and for this reason it is that the greater part of this chapter has been given to the recital of her literary development through more than thrice fifty years. If the progress of the years has made her sharer in many ways of the great achievements of Englishmen at home and abroad, and especially sharers in the literature produced on the southern side of the Tweed, England now accords full measure of appreciation of that which is native to the northern division of the

isle. Scott and Burns are not the property of Scotland alone, Stevenson and Barrie have not readers by the thousands in Scotland only. Scotland's literary bead roll is a long and shining one, and we have by no means exhausted its treasures in the hasty scanning given it in these pages. The songs her poets have sung, the tales her story-tellers have told are known wherever English is spoken, are treasured wherever the English language has gone.

Abundant reason may be found, therefore, for the space that has been accorded to the account here given of Scotland's literature during the long period under consideration. Her literary annals are, in the deeper sense of the term, her history. Her architects, engineers, manufacturers, merchants, have ably borne their part in the creation of her history, but her singers and story-tellers have done infinitely more. Imagine Scottish literature without its Burns and the throng of minor singers indissolubly associated with the poesy of Caledonia. Picture what it would be without such story-tellers as Scott and Stevenson, and the author of "Rab and His Friends." It is not alone what these men accomplished for literature in their proper person that is to be considered, but the impulse given to letters by their influence and example in addition. Thomson in his "Seasons" led the way to the appreciation of nature now so general, Fergusson, to some extent, is responsible for the later Burns, while Burns and Scott made possible in a certain degree the innumerable singers and weavers of tales that have flourished since their day in the country over the Border. One need not pause to prophesy that country's future, and her past is secure. It only remains therefore to entreat the Ruler of Nations to

"Give her the glory of going on, and still to be."

A
SHEAF OF SCOTTISH SONGS AND BALLADS

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A
SHEAF OF SCOTTISH SONGS AND BALLADS

BONNIE GEORGE CAMPBELL

Hie upon Hielands,
  And low upon Tay,
Bonnie George Campbell
  Rade out on a day.
Saddled and bridled
  And gallant rade he;
Hame came his gude horse,
  But never came he.

Out came his auld mither
  Greeting fu' sair,
And out came his bonny bride
  Rivin' her hair.
Saddled and bridled
  And booted rade he;
Toom hame came the saddle,
  But never came he.

"My meadow lies green,
  And my corn is unshorn;
My barn is to build,
  And my baby's unborn."
Saddled and bridled
  And booted rade he,
Toom hame came the saddle
  But never came he.

Unknown.

WALY, WALY, GIN LOVE BE BONNY

O, waly, waly up the bank,
  And waly, waly down the brae,
And waly, waly yon burnside,
  Where I and my love wont to gae.
I leaned my back unto an aik,
  And thought it was a trusty tree,
But first it bowed, and syne it brak',
  Sae my true love did lightly me.

O, waly, waly, but love be bonny,
  A little time while it is new;
But when 'tis auld, it waxeth cauld,
  And fades away like morning dew.
O, wherefore should I busk my head?
  Or wherefore should I kame my hair?
For my true love has me forsook,
  And says he'll never love me mair.

Now Arthur-Seat shall be my bed,
  The sheets shall ne'er be filled by me;
Saint Anton's well shall be my drink,
  Since my true love's forsaken me,
Martinmas wind, when wilt thou blaw,
  And shake the green leaves off the tree?
O gentle death! when wilt thou come?
  For of my life I am weary.

'Tis not the frost that freezes fell,
  Nor blawing snaw's inclemency;
'Tis not sic cauld that makes me cry,
  But my love's heart grown cauld to me.
When we came in by Glasgow town,
  We were a comely sight to see;
My love was clad in the black velvet,
  And I mysel' in cramassie.

But had I wist before I kissed
  That love had been sae ill to win,
I'd locked my heart in a case of gold,
  And pinned it with a silver pin.

And O, if my young babe were born,
  And set upon the nurse's knee,
And I mysel' were dead and gane,
  Wi' the green grass growing over me!

Unknown.

[First printed in Allan Ramsay's "Tea Table Miscellany," and sometimes entitled "Lady Anne Bothwell's Lament." It has many variants.]

THE BOATIE ROWS

O, weel may the boatie row
  And better may she speed;
And liesome may the boatie row
  That wins the bairnies' bread.
The boatie rows, the boatie rows,
  The boatie rows indeed;
And weel may the boatie row
  That wins the bairnies' bread.

I coost my line in Largo Bay,
  And fishies I catched nine;
'Twas three to boil and three to fry,
  And three to bait the line.
The boatie rows, the boatie rows,
  The boatie rows indeed,
And happy be the lot o' a'
  Wha wishes her to speed.

O, weel may the boatie row,
  That fills a heavy creel,
And cleeds us a' frae tap to tae,
  And buys our parritch meal.
The boatie rows, the boatie rows,
  The boatie rows, indeed,
And happy be the lot o' a'
  That wish the boatie speed.

When Jamie vowed he wad be mine,
  And wan frae me my heart,

O, muckle lighter grew my creel —
  He swore we'd never part.
The boatie rows, the boatie rows,
  The boatie rows fu' weel;
And muckle lighter is the load
  When love bears up the creel.

My kurtch I put upo' my head,
  And dressed mysel' fu' braw;
I trow my heart was dough and wae,
  When Jamie gaed awa'.
But weel may the boatie row,
  And lucky be her part,
And lightsome be the lassie's care
  That yields an honest heart.

Unknown.

GLENLOGIE

Threescore o' nobles rade up the king's ha',
But bonnie Glenlogie's the flower o' them a',
Wi' his milk-white steed and his bonnie black e'e,
"Glenlogie, dear mither, Glenlogie for me!"

"O, haud your tongue, daughter, ye'll get better than he."
"O, say not sae, mither, for that canna be;
Though Doumlie is richer and greater than he
Yet if I maun tak him, I'll certainly dee.

"Where will I get a bonnie boy, to win hose and shoon,
Will gae to Glenlogie, and come again soon?"
"O, here am I a bonnie boy, to win hose and shoon,
Will gae to Glenlogie and come again soon."

When he gaed to Glenlogie, 'twas "wash and go dine;"
'Twas "wash ye, my pretty boy, wash and go dine."
"O, 'twas ne'er my father's fashion, and it ne'er shall be mine
To gar a lady's errand wait till I dine.

"But there is, Glenlogie, a letter for thee."
The first line that he read, a low laugh gave he;
The next line that he read, the tear blindit his e'e,
But the last line that he read, he gart the table flee.

"Gar saddle the black horse, gar saddle the broun;
Gar saddle the swiftest steed e'er rade frae a toun:"
But lang ere the horse was drawn and brought to the green,
O, bonnie Glenlogie was twa mile his lane.

When he came to Glenfeldy's door, little mirth was there;
Bonnie Jean's mither was tearing her hair,
"Ye're welcome, Glenlogie, ye're welcome," said she, —
"Ye're welcome, Glenlogie, your Jeannie to see."

Pale and wan was she, when Glenlogie gaed ben,
But red and rosy grew she, whene'er he sat doun;
She turned awa' her head, but the smile was in her e'e,
"O binna feared, mither, I'll maybe no dee."

Unknown.

FAREWELL TO LOCHABER

Farewell to Lochaber, farewell to my Jean,
Where heartsome with thee I have mony a day been:
To Lochaber no more, to Lochaber no more,
We'll maybe return to Lochaber no more.
These tears that I shed they are a' for my dear
And not for the dangers attending on weir;
Though borne on rough seas to a far bloody shore,
Maybe to return to Lochaber no more!

Though hurricanes rise, and rise every wind,
No tempest can equal the storm in my mind;
Though loudest of thunders on louder waves roar,
That's naething like leaving my love on the shore.
To leave thee behind me my heart is sair pained,
But by ease that's inglorious no fame can be gained;
And beauty and love's the reward of the brave;
And I maun deserve it before I can crave.

Then glory, my Jenny, maun plead my excuse;
Since honour commands me, how can I refuse?
Without it I ne'er can have merit for thee,
And losing thy favour I'd better not be.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

I gae then, my lass, to win honour and fame,
And if I should chance to come glorious hame,
I'll bring a heart to thee with love running o'er,
And then I'll leave thee and Lochaber no more.

Allan Ramsay, 1686–1758.

WHAT AILS THIS HEART O' MINE?

What ails this heart o' mine?
  What ails this watery e'e?
What gars me a' turn pale as death
  When I take leave o' thee?
When thou art far awa',
  Thou'lt dearer grow to me;
But change o' place, and change o' folk,
  May gar thy fancy jee.

When I gae out at e'en,
  Or walk at morning air,
Ilk rustling bush will seem to say,
  I used to meet thee there.
Then I'll sit down and cry,
  And live aneath the tree,
And when a leaf fa's i' my lap,
  I'll ca' 't a word frae thee.

I'll hie me to the bower
  That thou wi' roses tied,
And where wi' mony a blushing bud
  I strove myself to hide.
I'll doat on ilka spot
  Where I hae been wi' thee;
And ca' to mind some kindly word,
  By ilka burn and tree.

Susanna Blamire, 1747–1794.

OF A' THE AIRTS THE WIND CAN BLAW

Of a' the airts the wind can blaw,
  I dearly like the west;
For there the bonnie lassie lives,
  The lassie I lo'e best.

There wildwoods grow, and rivers row,
  And monie a hill's between;
But day and night my fancy's flight
  Is ever wi' my Jean.

I see her in the dewy flowers,
  I see her sweet and fair;
I hear her in the tunefu' birds,
  I hear her charm the air;
There's not a bonnie flower that springs
  By fountain, shaw or green, —
There's not a bonnie bird that sings,
  But minds me o' my Jean.

Robert Burns, 1759–1796.

MARY MORISON

O Mary, at thy window be!
  It is the wished, the trysted hour!
Those smiles and glances let me see
  That make the miser's treasure poor:
How blithely wad I bide the stoure,
  A weary slave frae sun to sun,
Could I the rich reward secure,
  The lovely Mary Morison.

Yestreen when to the trembling string
  The dance ga'ed through the lighted ha',
To thee my fancy took its wing,
  I sat, but neither heard nor saw.
Though this was fair, and that was braw,
  And yon the toast of a' the town,
I sighed, and said among them a',
  "Ye are na Mary Morison."

O Mary, canst thou wreck his peace
  Wha for thy sake wad gladly dee?
Or canst thou break that heart of his,
  Whase only faut is loving thee?
If love for love thou wilt na gie,
  At least be pity to me shown;

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

A thought ungentle canna be
  The thought o' Mary Morison.

Robert Burns.

HIGHLAND MARY

Ye banks and braes and streams around
  The castle o' Montgomery,
Green be your woods, and fair your flowers,
  Your waters never drumlie!
There, simmer first unfauld her robes
  And there the langest tarry!
For there I took the last farewell
  O' my sweet Highland Mary.

How sweetly bloomed the gay green birk,
  How rich the hawthorn's blossom,
As underneath their fragrant shade
  I clasped her to my bosom!
The golden hours on angel wings
  Flew o'er me and my dearie;
For dear to me as light and life
  Was my sweet Highland Mary.

Wi' mony a vow and locked embrace
  Our parting was fu' tender;
And pledging aft to meet again,
  We tore ourselves asunder;
But, O, fell Death's untimely frost,
  That nipt my flower sae early!
Now green's the sod, and cauld's the clay,
  That wraps my Highland Mary.

O pale, pale now, those rosy lips
  I aft hae kissed sae fondly!
And closed for aye the sparkling glance
  That dwelt on me sae kindly!
And mouldering now in silent dust
  The heart that lo'ed me dearly!
But still within my bosom's core
  Shall live my Highland Mary.

Robert Burns.

CHARLIE IS MY DARLING

'Twas on a Monday morning,
  Right early in the year,
When Charlie cam' to our town,
  The young Chevalier.
    Oh, Charlie is my darling,
      My darling, my darling,
    Oh, Charlie is my darling,
      The young Chevalier.

As he cam' marching up the street
  The pipes played loud an' clear,
An' a' the folks cam' running out
  To meet the Chevalier.

Wi' Hieland bonnets on their heads,
  An' claymores bright and clear,
They cam' to fight for Scotland's right
  And the young Chevalier.

They've left their bonnie Hieland hills
  Their wives and bairnies dear,
To draw the sword for Scotland's lord,
  The young Chevalier.

Oh, there were mony beating hearts
  An' mony a hope an' fear,
An' mony were the prayers sent up
  For the young Chevalier.
    Oh, Charlie is my darling,
      My darling, my darling,
    Oh, Charlie is my darling,
      The young Chevalier.

Lady Nairne, 1766–1845.

[Burns and Hogg also wrote songs to the air of "Charlie is my Darling," including in each case the first stanza of the unknown singer who originated the song.]

CALLER HERRIN'

Wha'll buy my caller herrin'?
They're bonnie fish and halesome fairin',
Wha'll buy my caller herrin'
    New drawn frae the Forth?

When ye were sleepin' on your pillows,
Dream'd ye aught o' our fine fellows,
Darkling as they faced the billows
A' to fill the woven willows?
    Buy my caller herrin',
    New drawn frae the Forth.

Wha'll buy my caller herrin',
The're no bought without brave darin';
Buy my caller herrin',
Haled thro' wind and rain.

Wha'll buy my caller herrin'?
Oh, ye may call them vulgar fairin';
Wives and mithers maist despairin'
Ca' them lives o' men.
    Wha'll buy my caller herrin'?
    They're bonnie fish and halesome fairin',
    Wha'll buy my caller herrin'
    New drawn frae the Forth?

Lady Nairne.

JAMIE THE LAIRD

Send a horse to the water, ye'll no mak' him drink;
Send a fule to the college, ye'll no mak' him think;
Send a craw to the surgin, and still he will craw;
An' the wee laird had nae rummelgumpshon ava;
Yet he is the pride o' his fond mither's e'e;
In body or mind nae faut can she see;
"He's a fell clever lad and a bonnie wee man,"
Is aye the beginnin' an' end o' her sang.

His legs they are bow'd, his e'es they do glee,
His wig, whiles it's off, and when on, it's ajee.

He's as braird as he's lang — an' ill-faur'd is he,
A dafter like body I never did see.
An' yet for this cretur she says I am deein';
When that I deny — She's fear'd at my leein'.
Obliged to pit up wi' the sair defamation,
I'm liken to dee wi' shame an' vexation.

An' her clish-ma-clavers gang a' thro' the town,
An' the wee lairdie trows I'll hang or f'll drown,
Wi' his gawkie like face yestreen he did say,
"I'll maybe tak' you, for Bess I'll no hae,
Nor Mollie, nor Effie, nor long-legged Jennie,
Nor Nellie, nor Katie, nor skirlin' wee Beenie."
I stoppet my ears, ran off in a fury —
I'm thinkin' to bring them before Judge and Jury.

Frien's gie yere advice — I'll follow yere counsel.
Maun I speak to the Provost or honest Town Council?
Or the writers, or lawyers, or doctors? now say,
For the law o' the Lucky I shall and will hae.
The hail town at me are jibbin' and jeerin',
For a leddy like me it's really past hearin';
The Lucky now maun hae done wi' her claverin',
For I'll no pit up wi' her an' her haverin."

Lady Nairne.

THE LAND O' THE LEAL

I'm wearin' awa,' John,
Like snaw-wreaths in thaw, John,
I'm wearin awa'
To the land o' the leal.

There's nae sorrow there, John,
There's neither cauld nor care, John,
The day is aye fair
In the land o' the leal.

Our bonnie bairn's there, John,
She was baith gude and fair, John,
And, oh, we grudged her sair
To the land o' the leal.

But sorrow's sel' wears past, John,
And joy's a-comin' fast, John,
The joy that's aye to last
    In the land o' the leal.

Oh, dry your glist'ning e'e, John,
My saul langs to be free, John,
And angels beckon me
    To the land o' the leal.

O, haud ye leal and true, John,
Your day it's wearin' through, John,
And I'll welcome you
    To the land o' the leal.

Now fare-ye-weel, my ain John,
The world's cares are vain, John,
We'll meet and will be fain
    In the land o' the leal.

Lady Nairne.

CORONACH

He is gone on the mountain,
  He is lost to the forest,
Like a summer-dried fountain,
  When our need was the sorest.
The font, reappearing,
  From the rain-drops shall borrow,
But to us comes no cheering,
  To Duncan no morrow!

The hand of the reaper
  Takes the ears that are hoary,
But the voice of the weeper
  Wails manhood in glory.
The autumn winds rushing
  Waft the leaves that are searest,
But our flower was in flushing,
  When blighting was nearest.

Fleet foot on the correi,
  Sage counsel in cumber,

Red hand in the foray,
  How sound is thy slumber!
Like the dew on the mountain,
  Like the foam on the river,
Like the bubble on the fountain,
  Thou art gone and forever.

Sir Walter Scott, 1771–1832.

PROUD MAISIE

Proud Maisie is in the wood
  Walking so early;
Sweet Robin sits on the bush
  Singing so rarely.

"Tell me, thou bonny bird,
  When shall I marry me?"
"When six braw gentlemen
  Kirkward shall carry ye."

"Who makes the bridal bed?
  Birdie, say truly?"
"The grey-headed sexton
  That delves the grave duly.

The glow-worm o'er grave and stone
  Shall light thee steady;
The owl from the steeple sing
  Welcome, proud lady."

Sir Walter Scott.

BOAT SONG

Hail to the Chief who in triumph advances!
  Honoured and blessed be the ever-green Pine!
Long may the tree, in his banner that glances,
  Flourish, the shelter and grace of our line!
    Heaven send it happy dew,
    Earth lend it sap anew,
  Gayly to bourgeon and broadly to grow,
    While every Highland glen
    Sends our shout back again,
  "Roderigh Vich Alpine dhu, ho! ieroe!"

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

Ours is no sapling, chance-sown by the fountain,
  Blooming at Beltane, in winter to fade,
When the whirlwind has stripped every leaf on the mountain,
  The more shall Clan-Alpine exult in her shade.
    Moored in the rifted rock,
    Proof to the tempest's shock,
  Firmer he roots him the ruder it blow;
    Menteith and Breadalbane, then,
    Echo his praise again,
  "Roderigh Vich Alpine dhu, ho! ieroe!"

Proudly our pibroch has thrilled in Glen Fruin,
  And Bannochar's groans to our slogan replied;
Glen Luss and Ross-dhu, they are smoking in ruin,
  And the best of Loch Lomond lie dead on her side.
    Widow and Saxon maid
    Long shall lament our raid,
  Think of Clan-Alpine with fear and with woe;
    Lenox and Leven-glen
    Shake when they hear again,
  "Roderigh Vich Alpine dhu, ho! ieroe!"

Row, vassals row, for the pride of the Highlands!
  Stretch to your oars for the ever-green Pine!
O that the rosebud that graces yon islands
  Were wreathed in a garland around him to twine!
    O that some seedling gem,
    Worthy such noble stem,
  Honoured and blessed in their shadow might grow!
    Loud should Clan-Alpine then
    Ring from her deepmost glen,
  "Roderigh Vich Alpine dhu, ho! ieroe!"

Sir Walter Scott.

WHEN MAGGY GANGS AWAY

O, what will a' the lads do
  When Maggy gangs away?
O, what will a' the lads do
  When Maggy gangs away?
There's no a heart in a' the glen
  That disna dread the day;—

O, what will a' the lads do
  When Maggy gangs away?

Young Jock has ta'en the hill for't,
  A waefu' wight is he;
Poor Harry's ta'en the bed for't,
  An' laid him down to dee;
An' Sandy's gane unto the kirk,
  An' learnin' fast to pray; —
O, what will a' the lads do
  When Maggy gangs away?

The young laird o' the Lang Shaw
  Has drunk her health in wine;
The priest has said — in confidence —
  The lassie was divine;
An' that is mair in maiden's praise
  Than ony priest should say; —
But O, what will the lads do
  When Maggy gangs away?

The wailing in our green glen
  That day will quaver high,
'Twill draw the redbreast frae the wood,
  The laverock frae the sky;
The fairies frae their beds o' dew
  Will rise an' join the lay, —
An' hey! what a day 'twill be
  When Maggy gangs away?

James Hogg, 1772–1835.

THE BRAES O' BALQUHITHER

Let us go, lassie, go,
  To the braes o' Balquhither,
Where the blae-berries grow
  'Mang the bonnie Highland heather;
Where the deer and the roe,
  Lightly bounding together,
Sport the lang simmer day
  On the braes o' Balquhither.

I will twine thee a bower
  By the clear siller fountain,
And I'll cover it o'er
  Wi' the flowers of the mountain;
I will range through the wilds,
  And the deep glens sae drearie,
And return wi' the spoils
  To the bower o' my dearie.

When the rude wintry win'
  Idly raves round our dwelling,
And the roar of the linn
  On the night breeze is swelling,
Sae merrily we'll sing,
  As the storm rattles o'er us,
Till the dear shieling ring
  Wi' the light lilting chorus.

Now the simmer's in prime
  Wi' the flowers richly blooming,
And the wild mountain thyme
  A' the moorlands perfuming;
To our dear native scenes
  Let us journey together,
Where glad innocence reigns
  'Mang the braes o' Balquhither.

Robert Tannahill, 1774–1810.

GLENARA

O, heard ye yon pibroch sound sad in the gale,
Where a band cometh slowly with weeping and wail?
'Tis the chief of Glenara laments for his dear;
And her sire, and the people, are called to her bier.

Glenara came first with the mourners and shroud;
Her kinsmen they followed, but mourned not aloud;
Their plaids all their bosoms were folded around;
They marched all in silence,—they looked on the ground.

In silence they marched over mountain and moor,
To a heath where the oak-tree grew lonely and hoar:

"Now here let us place the grey stone of her cairn:
Why speak ye no word?" said Glenara the stern.

"And tell me, I charge you! ye clan of my spouse,
Why fold ye your mantles, why cloud ye your brows?"
So spake the rude chieftain; no answer is made,
But each mantle unfolding, a dagger displayed.

"I dreamt of my lady, I dreamt of her shroud,"
Cried a voice from the kinsmen, all wrathful and loud;
"And empty that shroud and that coffin did seem;
Glenara! Glenara! now read me my dream!"

O pale grew the cheek of that chieftain, I ween,
When the shroud was unclosed, and no lady was seen;
When a voice from the kinsmen spoke louder in scorn,
'Twas the youth who had loved the fair Ellen of Lorn:

"I dreamt of my lady, I dreamt of her grief,
I dreamt that her lord was a barbarous chief;
On a rock of the ocean fair Ellen did seem:
Glenara! Glenara! now read me my dream?"

In dust, low the traitor has knelt to the ground,
And the desert revealed where his lady was found;
From a rock of the ocean that beauty is borne, —
Now joy to the house of fair Ellen of Lorn!

Thomas Campbell, 1777–1844.

LUCY'S FLITTIN'

'Twas when the wan leaf frae the birk-tree was fa'in,
  An' Martinmas dowie had wound up the year,
That Lucy rowed up her wee kist wi' her a' in 't,
  An' left her auld maister an' neibours sae dear;
For Lucy had served i' the glen a' the simmer;
  She cam' there afore the bloom cam' on the pea;
An orphan was she, and they had been gude till her,
  Sure that was the thing brocht the tear to her e'e.

She gaed by the stable where Jamie was stannin';
  Richt sair was his kind heart her flittin' to see.

"Fare ye weel, Lucy!" quo' Jamie, and ran in;
  The gatherin' tears trickled fast frae her e'e.
As down the burnside she gaed slow wi' her flittin',
  "Fare ye weel, Lucy!" was ilka bird's sang;
She heard the craw sayin't, high on the trees sittin',
  An' the robin was chirpin't the brown leaves amang.

"O, what is't that pits my puir heart in a flutter?
  An' what gars the tears come sae fast to my e'e?
If I wasna ettled to be ony better,
  Then what gars me wish ony better to be?
I'm juist like a lammie that loses its mither;
  Nae mither or friend the puir lammie can see;
I fear I hae tint my puir heart a'thegither,
  Nae wonder the tear fa' sae fast frae my e'e.

"Wi' the rest o' my claes I have rowed up the ribbon,
  The bonnie blue ribbon that Jamie gae me;
Yestreen, when he gae me't, and saw I was sabbin',
  I'll never forget the wee blink o' his e'e.
Though now he said naething but 'Fare ye weel, Lucy!'
  It made me I neither could speak, hear, nor see;
He couldna say mair but juist, 'Fare ye weel, Lucy!'
  Yet that I will mind till the day that I dee."

The lamb likes the gowan wi' dew when its droukit;
  The hare likes the brake and the braird on the lea;
But Lucy likes Jamie; she turned and she lookit,
  She thocht the dear place she wad never mair see.
Ah, weel may young Jamie gang dowie and cheerless!
  An' weel may he greet on the bank o' the burn!
For bonnie sweet Lucy, sae gentle and peerless,
  Lies cauld in her grave, and will never return.

William Laidlaw, 1780–1845.

LAMENT FOR FLODDEN

I've heard them lilting at our ewe-milking,
  Lassies a lilting before dawn o' day;
But now they are moaning on ilka green loaning —
  The Flowers of the Forest are a' wede away.

THE ROBERTSON
LOCH RANNOCH

At bughts, in the morning, nae blythe lads are scorning,
  Lassies are lonely and dowie and wae;
Nae daffin', nae gabbin', but sighing and sabbing,
  Ilk ane lifts her leglin and hies her away.

In har'st, at the shearing, nae youths now are jeering,
  Bandsters are lyart, and runkled, and grey;
At fair or at preaching, nae wooing, nae fleeching —
  The Flowers of the Forest are a' wede away.

At e'en, in the gloaming, nae younkers are roaming
  'Bout stacks wi' the lasses at bogle to play;
But ilk ane sits drearie, lamenting her dearie —
  The Flowers of the Forest are weded away.

Dool and wae for the order, sent our lads to the Border!
  The English, for ance, by guile wan the day;
The Flowers of the Forest, that fought aye the foremost,
  The prime of our land, are cauld in the clay.

We'll hear nae mair lilting at the ewe-milking;
  Women and bairns are heartless and wae;
Sighing and moaning on ilka green loaning —
  The Flowers of the Forest are a' wede away.

Jane Elliott, 1781–1849.

WHISPER LOW

Slowly, slowly the cauld moon creeps
  Wi' a licht unloesome to see;
It dwalls on the window whaur my love sleeps,
  An' she winna wauken to me.
    Wearie, wearie the hours, and slow,
    Wauken, my lovie, and whisper low.

There's nae ae sang in heaven's licht,
  Nor on the green earth doun,
Like soun's which kind love kens at nicht,
  When whispers hap the soun';
    Hearin,' fearin', sichin so —
    Whisper, my bonnie love, whisper low!

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND

They lack nae licht wha weel can speak
  In love's ain wordless wile;
Her ee'bree creepin' on my cheek
  Betrays her pawkie smile.
    Happy, happy, silent so —
    Breathin' bonnie love, whisper low!

Was yon a waft o' her wee white han'
  Wi' a warnin' "wheest" to me?
Or was it a gleam o' that fause moon fa'in'
  On my poor misguided e'e?
    Wearie, wearie, wearie O —
    Wauken, my lovie, and whisper low.

William Thom, 1798–1845.

JEANIE MORRISON

I've wandered east, I've wandered west,
  Through mony a weary way;
But never, never can forget
  The luve o' life's young day!
The fire that's blawn on Beltane e'en
  May weel be black gin Yule;
But blacker fa' awaits the heart
  Where first fond luve grows cool.

O dear, dear Jeanie Morrison.
  The thochts o' bygane years
Still fling their shadows ower my path,
  And blind my e'en wi' tears;
They blind my e'en wi' saut, saut tears,
  And sair and sick I pine,
As memory idly summons up
  The blythe blinks o' lang syne.

'Twas then we luvit ilk ither weel,
  'Twas then we twa' did part:
Sweet time, — sad time! twa bairns at scule,
  Twa bairns, and but ae heart!
'Twas then we sat on ae laigh bink,
  To leir ilk ither lear;

And tones and looks and smiles were shed,
  Remembered evermair.

I wonder, Jeanie, aften yet,
  When sitting on that bink,
Cheek touchin' cheek, loof locked in loof,
  What our wee heads could think?
When baith bent doun ower ae braid page,
  Wi' ae buik on our knee,
Thy lips were on thy lesson, but
  My lesson was in thee.

. . . . . .

O, mind ye, luve, how aft we left
  The deavin dinsome toun,
To wander by the green burnside,
  And hear its waters croon?
The simmer leaves hung ower our heads,
  The flowers burst round our feet,
And in the gloamin' o' the wood,
  The throssil whussilt sweet.

The throssil whussilt in the wood,
  The wren sang to the trees,
And we, with Nature's heart in tune,
  Concerted harmonies.
And on the knowe abune the burn
  For hours thegither sat
In the silentness o' joy, till baith
  Wi' very gladness grat.

. . . . . .

O dear, dear Jeanie Morrison,
  Since we were sindered young,
I've never seen your face, nor heard
  The music o' your tongue;
But I could hug all wretchedness,
  And happy could I dee,
Did I but ken your heart still dreamed
  O' bygane days and me.

William Motherwell, 1797–1835.

PARTING AND MEETING AGAIN

Last time I parted from my Dear
The linnet sang from the briar-bush,
    The throstle from the dell;
The stream, too, carolled full and clear.
It was the springtime of the year,
And both the linnet and the thrush
    I love them well
Since last I parted with my Dear.

But when he came again to me
The barley rustled high and low.
    Linnet and thrush were still;
Yellowed the apple on the tree,
'Twas Autumn merry as it could be,
What time the white ships come and go
    Under the hill,
They brought him back again to me,
Brought him safely o'er the sea.

William Bell Scott, 1812–1890.

THE BURIAL MARCH OF DUNDEE

I

Sound the fife, and cry the slogan —
  Let the pibroch shake the air
With its wild triumphal music,
  Worthy of the freight we bear.
Let the ancient hills of Scotland
  Hear once more the battle-song
Swell within their glens and valleys
  As the clansmen march along!
Never from the field of combat,
  Never from the deadly fray,
Was a nobler trophy carried
  Than we bring with us to-day;
Never since the valiant Douglas
  On his dauntless bosom bore
Good King Robert's heart — the priceless —
  To our dear Redeemer's shore!

Lo! we bring with us the hero —
  Lo! we bring the conquering Graeme,
Crowned as best beseems a victor
  From the altar of his fame;
Fresh and bleeding from the battle
  Whence his spirit took its flight,
'Midst the crashing charge of squadrons,
  And the thunder of the fight!
Strike, I say, the notes of triumph,
  As we march o'er moor and lea!
Is there any here will venture
  To bewail our dead Dundee?
Let the widows of the traitors
  Weep until their eyes are dim!
Wail ye may full well for Scotland —
  Let none dare to mourn for him!
See! above his glorious body
  Lies the royal banner's fold —
See! his valiant blood is mingled
  With its crimson and its gold.
See how calm he looks and stately,
  Like a warrior on his shield,
Waiting till the flush of morning
  Breaks along the battle-field!
See — Oh never more, my comrades,
  Shall we see that falcon eye
Redden with its inward lightning,
  As the hour of fight drew nigh!
Never shall we hear the voice that,
  Clearer than the trumpet's call,
Bade us strike for King and Country,
  Bade us win the field, or fall!

II

On the heights of Killiecrankie
  Yester morn our army lay;
Slowly rose the mist in columns
  From the river's broken way;
Hoarsely roared the swollen torrent,
  And the Pass was wrapped in gloom,

When the clansmen rose together
  From their lair amidst the broom.
Then we belted on our tartans,
  And our bonnets down we drew,
And we felt our broadswords' edges,
  And we proved them to be true;
And we prayed the prayer of soldiers,
  And we cried the gathering-cry,
And we clasped the hands of kinsmen,
  And we swore to do or die!
Then our leader rode before us
  On his war-horse black as night —
Well the Cameronian rebels
  Knew that charger in the fight!
And a cry of exultation
  From the bearded warriors rose;
For we loved the house of Claver'se,
  And we thought of good Montrose.
But he raised his hand for silence —
"Soldiers! I have sworn a vow:
Ere the evening star shall glisten
  On Schehallion's lofty brow,
Either we shall rest in triumph,
  Or another of the Graemes
Shall have died in battle-harness
  For his Country and King James!
Think upon the Royal Martyr —
  Think of what his race endure —
Think on him whom butchers murder'd
  On the field of Magus Muir:
By his sacred blood I charge ye,
  By the ruined hearth and shrine,
By the blighted hopes of Scotland,
  By your injuries and mine —
Strike this day as if the anvil
  Lay beneath your blows the while,
Be they Covenanting traitors,
  Or the brood of false Argyle!
Strike! and drive the trembling rebels
  Backwards o'er the stormy Forth;
Let them tell their pale Convention
  How they fared within the North.

Let them tell that Highland honour
  Is not to be bought nor sold,
That we scorn their prince's anger
  As we loath his foreign gold.
Strike! and when the fight is over,
  If you look in vain for me,
Where the dead are lying thickest
  Search for him that was Dundee!"

III

Loudly then the hills re-echoed
  With our answer to his call,
But a deeper echo sounded
  In the bosoms of us all.
For the lands of wide Breadalbane,
  Not a man who heard him speak
Would that day have left the battle.
  Burning eye and flushing cheek
Told the clansmen's fierce emotion,
  And they harder drew their breath;
For their souls were strong within them,
  Stronger than the grasp of death.
Soon we heard a challenge-trumpet
  Sounding in the Pass below,
And the distant tramp of horses,
  And the voices of the foe;
Down we crouched amid the bracken,
  Till the Lowland ranks drew near,
Panting like the hounds in summer,
  When they scent the stately deer.
From the dark defile emerging,
  Next we saw the squadrons come,
Leslie's foot and Leven's troopers
  Marching to the tuck of drum;
Through the scattered wood of birches,
  O'er the broken ground and heath,
Wound the long battalion slowly,
  Till they gained the field beneath;
Then we bounded from our covert —
  Judge how looked the Saxons then,

When they saw the rugged mountain
  Start to life with armed men!
Like a tempest down the ridges
  Swept the hurricane of steel,
Rose the slogan of Macdonald —
  Flashed the broadsword of Locheill!
Vainly sped the withering volley
  'Mongst the foremost of our band —
On we poured until we met them,
  Foot to foot and hand to hand.
Horse and man went down like driftwood
  When the floods are black at Yule,
And their carcasses are whirling
  In the Garry's deepest pool.
Horse and man went down before us —
  Living foe there tarried none
On the field of Killiecrankie,
  When that stubborn fight was done.

IV

And the evening star was shining
  On Schehallion's distant head
When we wiped our bloody broadswords,
  And returned to count the dead.
There we found him gashed and gory,
  Stretched upon the 'cumbered plain,
As he told us where to seek him,
  In the thickest of the slain.
And a smile was on his visage,
  For within his dying ear
Pealed the joyful note of triumph,
  And the clansmen's clamorous cheer;
So, amidst the battle's thunder,
  Shot, and steel, and scorching flame,
In the glory of his manhood
  Passed the spirit of the Graeme!

V

Open wide the vaults of Athol,
  Where the bones of heroes rest —

Open wide the hallowed portals
  To receive another guest!
Last of Scots, and last of freemen —
  Last of all that dauntless race
Who would rather die unsullied
  Than outlive the land's disgrace!
O thou lion-hearted warrior!
  Reck not of the after time:
Honour may be termed dishonour,
  Loyalty be called a crime.
Sleep in peace with kindred ashes
  Of the noble and the true.
Hands that never failed their country,
  Hearts that never baseness knew.
Sleep! and till the latest trumpet
  Wakes the dead from earth and sea,
Scotland shall not boast a braver
  Chieftain than our own Dundee!

William Edmonstoune Aytoun, 1813–1865.

From "Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers."

WE ARE BRETHREN A'

A happy bit hame this auld world would be,
If men, when they're here, could make shift to agree,
An' ilk said to his neighbour, in cottage an' ha',
"Come, gi'e me your hand, — we are brethren a'."

I ken na why ane wi' anither should fight,
When to 'gree would make ae body cosie an' right;
When man meets wi' man, 'tis the best way ava,
To say, "Gi'e me your hand, — we are brethren a'."

My coat is a coarse ane, an' yours may be fine,
An' I maun drink water, while you may drink wine;
But we baith ha'e a leal heart, unspotted to shaw:
Sae gi'e me your hand, — we are brethren a'.

The knave ye would scorn, the unfaithfu' deride;
Ye would stand like a rock, wi' the truth on your side;
Sae would I, an' naught else would I value a straw;
Then gi'e me your hand, — we are brethren a'.

Ye would scorn to do fausely by woman or man;
I haud by the right aye, as weel as I can;
We are ane in our joys, our affections, an a';
Come, gi'e me your hand, — we are brethren a'.

Your mither has lo'ed you as mithers can lo'e;
An' mine has done for me what mithers can do;
We are ane high an' laigh, an' we shouldna be twa':
Sae gi'e me your hand, — we are brethren a'.

We love the same simmer day, sunny and fair;
Hame! O, how we love it, an' a' that are there!
Frae the pure air of heaven the same life we draw:
Come, gi'e me your hand, — we are brethren a'.

Frail shakin' auld age will soon come o'er us baith,
An' creepin' alang at his back will be death;
Syne into the same mither-yird we'll fa':
Come, gi'e me your hand, — we are brethren a'.

Robert Nicoll, 1814–1837.

O SAVIOUR: WHOSE MERCY

O Saviour! whose mercy, severe in its kindness,
  Hath chastened my wanderings and guided my way,
Adored be the power that illumined my blindness,
  And weaned me from phantoms that smiled to betray.

Enchanted with all that was dazzling and fair,
  I followed the rainbow, I caught at the toy;
And still in displeasure thy goodness was there,
  Disappointing the hope and defeating the joy.

The blossom flushed bright, but a worm was below;
  The moonlight shone fair, there was blight in the beam;
Sweet whispered the breeze, but it whispered of woe;
  And bitterness flowed in the soft flowing stream.

So cured of my folly, yet cured but in part,
  I turned to the refuge thy pity displayed;
And still did this eager and credulous heart
  Weave visions of promise that bloomed but to fade.

I thought that the course of the pilgrim to heaven
  Would be bright as the summer and glad as the morn:
Thou showedst me the path; it was dark and uneven,
  All rugged with rock and all tangled with thorn.

I dreamed of celestial rewards and renown,
  I grasped at the triumph that blesses the brave;
I asked for the palm-branch, the robe, and the crown,
  I asked, and thou showedst me a cross and a grave.

Subdued and instructed, at length to thy will
  My hopes and my wishes I freely resign;
O give me a heart that can wait and be still,
  Nor know of a wish or a pleasure but thine.

There are mansions exempted from sin and from woe,
  But they stand in a region by mortals untrod;
There are rivers of joy, but they roll not below;
  There is rest, but 'tis found in the bosom of God.

Sir Robert Grant, 1814–1838.

HYMN FOR THE MOTHER

My child is lying on my knees;
  The signs of heaven she reads;
My face is all the heaven she sees,
  Is all the heaven she needs.

And she is well, yea, bathed in bliss,
  If heaven is in my face, —
Behind it is all tenderness
  And truthfulness and grace.

I mean her well so earnestly,
  Unchanged in changing mood;
My life would go without a sigh
  To bring her something good.

I also am a child, and I
  Am ignorant and weak;
I gaze upon the starry sky,
  And then I must not speak;

For all behind the starry sky,
  Behind the world so broad,
Behind men's hearts and souls doth lie
  The Infinite of God.

Ay, true to her, though troubled sore,
  I cannot choose but be:
Thou who art peace forevermore
  Art very true to me.

If I am low and sinful, bring
  More love where need is rife;
Thou knowest what an awful thing
  It is to be a life.

Hast thou not wisdom to enwrap
  My waywardness about,
In doubting safety on the lap
  Of Love that knows no doubt?

Lo! Lord, I sit in thy wide space,
  My child upon my knee;
She looketh up into my face,
  And I look up to thee.

George Macdonald, 1824–1905.

SONG

Alas, how easily things go wrong!
A sigh too much, or a kiss too long,
And there follows a mist and a weeping rain,
And life is never the same again.

Alas, how hardly things go right!
'Tis hard to watch in a summer night,
For the sigh will come, and the kiss will stay,
And the summer night is a winter day.

George Macdonald.

ONE HOME

I go my way, thou goest thine,
  Many ways we wend,
Many ways, many days,
  Ending with one end;
Many a wrong with its curing song;
Many a road, many an inn —
  Room to roam,
But only one home
For the whole world to win.

George Macdonald.

THE MOUNTAIN FIR

They sat beneath the mountain fir,
  Beneath the evening sun;
With all his soul he looked at her —
  And so was love begun.

The titmice blue in fluttering flocks
  Caressed the fir-tree spray;
And far below, through rifted rocks,
  The river went its way.

As stars in heavenly waters swim
  Her eyes of azure shone;
With all her soul she looked at him —
  And so was love led on.

The squirrel sported on the bough
  And chuckled in his play;
Above the distant mountain's brow
  A golden glory lay.

The fir-tree breathed its balsam balm,
  With heather scents united,
The happy skies were hushed in calm —
  And so the troth was plighted.

The Earl of Southesk; Sir James Carnegie, 1827–1905.

SONG

Dost thou think I captive lie
To a gracious, glancing eye?
Dost thou think I am not free?
Nay, I am; thou freest me.

All the world could not undo
Chains which bound me fast to you;
Only at your touch they fly, —
Freer than before am I.

I care not for eyes of blue;
I loved truth and thought it you;
If you charm but to deceive,
All your charms I well can leave.

Ah, my once well-loved one;
Do no more as thou hast done;
She that makes true hearts to ache,
Last of all her own will break.

Mrs. Isa Craig Knox, 1831 —

CUDDLE DOON

The bairnies cuddle doon at nicht
Wi' muckle faught an' din;
"Oh try and sleep, ye waukrife rogues,
Your faither's comin' in."
They never heed a word I speak;
I try to gie a froon,
But aye I hap them up and cry,
"Oh, bairnies, cuddle doon."

Wee Jamie wi' the curly heid —
He aye sleeps next the wa',
Bangs up and cries, "I want a piece" —
The rascal starts them a'.
I rin an' fetch them pieces, drinks,
They stop awee the soun',
Then draw the blankets up an' cry,
"Noo, weanies, cuddle doon."

But ere five minutes gang, wee Rab
  Cries out, frae 'neath the claes,
"Mither, mak' Tam gie ower at ance,
  He's kittlin' wi' his taes."
The mischeef's in that Tam for tricks,
  He'd bother half the toon;
But aye I hap them up and cry,
  "Oh, bairnies, cuddle doon."

At length they hear their faither's fit,
  An' as he steeks the door,
They turn their faces to the wa',
  While Tam pretends to snore.
"Hae a' the weans been gude?" he asks,
  As he pits aff his shoon;
"The bairnies, John, are in their beds,
  An' lang since cuddled doon."

An' just afore we bed oursel's,
  We look at our wee lambs,
Tam has his airm roun' wee Rab's neck,
  And Rab his airm roun' Tam's.
I lift wee Jamie up the bed,
  An' as I straik each croon,
I whisper, till my heart fills up,
  Oh, bairnies, cuddle doon!

The bairnies cuddle doon at nicht
  Wi' mirth that's dear to me;
But soon the big warl's cark and care
  Will quaten doon their glee.
Yet, come what will to ilka ane,
  May He who rules aboon
Aye whisper, though their pows be bald,
  "Oh, bairnies, cuddle doon."

Alexander Anderson, 1845 —

LANGSYNE, WHEN LIFE WAS BONNIE

Langsyne, when life was bonnie,
  An' a' the skies were blue,

When ilka thocht took blossom,
  An' hung its heid wi' dew,
When winter wasna winter,
  Though snaws cam' happin' doon,
Langsyne, when life was bonnie,
  Spring gaed a twalmonth roun'.

Langsyne, when life was bonnie,
  An' a' the days were lang;
When through them ran the music
  That comes to us in sang,
We never wearied, liltin'
  The auld love-laden tune;
Langsyne, when life was bonnie,
  Love gaed a twalmonth roun'.

Langsyne, when life was bonnie,
  An' a' the warld was fair,
The leaves were green wi' simmer,
  For autumn wasna there.
But listen hoo they rustle,
  Wi' an eerie, weary soun',
For noo, alas, 'tis winter
  That gangs a twalmonth roun'.

Alexander Anderson.

TOSHIE NORRIE

O, bonnie Toshie Norrie
  To Inveraid is gane,
An' wi' her a' the sunshine
  That made us unco fain.
The win' is cauld an' gurly,
  An' winter's in the air,
But where dwells Toshie Norrie,
  O, it's aye simmer there.

O, bonnie Toshie Norrie,
  What made you leave us a'?
Your hame is no the Heelands,
  Though there the hills are braw.
Come back wi' a' your daffin',
  An' walth o' gowden hair,

For where dwells Toshie Norrie,
  O, it's aye simmer there.

O, bonnie Toshie Norrie,
  The winter nichts are lang,
An' aft we sit an' weary
  To hear an auld Scotch sang;
Come back, an' let your music,
  Like sunshine, fill the air,
For where dwells Toshie Norrie,
  O, it's aye simmer there.

Alexander Anderson.

A WINTER SONG

The rime lies cauld on ferm an' fauld,
  The lift's a drumlie grey;
The hill-taps a' are white wi' snaw,
  An' dull an' dour's the day.
The canny sheep thegither creep,
  The govin cattle glower;
The plowman staunds to chap his haunds
  An' wuss the storm were ower.

But ance the snaw's begond to fa'
  The cauld's no' near sae sair,
'Neth stingin' drift oor herts we lift
  The winter's warst to dare.
Wi' frost an' cauld we battle bauld,
  Nor fear a passin' fa',
But warstle up wi' warmer grup
  O' life, an' hope, an' a'.

An' sae, my frien', when to oor een
  Oor warldly ills appear
In prospect mair than we can bear,
  An outlook cauld an' drear,
Let's bear in mind — an' this, ye'll find,
  Has heartened not a few —
When ance we're in the battle's din
  We'll find we're half gate thro.

James Logie Robertson, 1847 —

REQUIEM

Under the wide and starry sky,
Dig the grave and let me lie.
Gladly did I live and gladly die,
And I laid me down with a will.

This be the verse you grave for me:
Here he lies where he longed to be;
Home is the sailor, home from sea,
And the hunter home from the hill.
Robert Louis Stevenson, 1850–1894.

A MILE AN' A BITTOCK

A mile an' a bittock, a mile or twa,
Abüne the burn, ayont the law,
Davie an' Donal' an' Cherlie an' a'
An' the müne was shinin' clearly!

Ane went hame wi' the ither, an' then
The ither went hame wi' the ither twa men,
And baith wad return him the service again,
An' the müne was shinin' clearly!

The clocks were chappin' in house an' ha',
Eleven, twal an' ane an' twa;
An' the gudeman's face was turnt to the wa',
An' the müne was shinin' clearly!

A wind got up frae affa the sea,
It blew the stars as clear's could be,
It blew in the een o' a' the three,
An' the müne was shinin' clearly!

Noo, Davie was first to get sleep in his head,
"The best o' frien's maun twine," he said;
"I'm weariet, an' here I'm awa' to my bed."
An' the müne was shinin' clearly!

Twa' o' them walkin' an' crackin' their lane,
The mornin' licht cam grey and plain,

An' the birds they yammert on stick an' stane,
An' the müne was shinin' clearly!

O years ayont, O years awa',
My lads, ye'll mind whate'er befa' —
My lads, ye'll mind on the bield o' the law,
When the müne was shinin' clearly.

Robert Louis Stevenson.

THE SONG OF FLOWERS

What is a bird but a living flower?
A flower but the soul of some dead bird?
And what is a weed but the dying breath
Of a perjured word?

A flower is the soul of a singing-bird,
Its scent is the breath of an old-time song;
But a weed and a thorn spring forth each day
For a new-done wrong.

Dead souls of song-birds, thro' the green grass,
Or deep in the midst of the golden grain,
In woodland valley, where hill-streams pass,
We flourish again.

We flowers are the joy of the whole wide earth,
Sweet Nature's laughter and secret tears —
Whoso hearkens a bird in its spring-time mirth
The song of a flow'r soul hears!

William Sharp, 1856–1905.

SONG

Love in my heart: oh, heart of me, heart of me!
Love is my tyrant, Love is supreme.
What if he passeth, oh, heart of me, heart of me!
Love is a phantom, and Life is a dream!

What if he changeth, oh, heart of me, heart of me!
Oh, can the waters be void of the wind?
What if he wendeth afar and apart from me,
What if he leave me to perish behind?

What if he passeth, oh, heart of me, heart of me!
  A flame i' the dusk, a breath of Desire?
Nay, my sweet Love is the heart and the soul of me,
  And I am the innermost heart of his fire!

Love in my heart: oh, heart of me, heart of me!
  Love is my tyrant, Love is supreme.
What if he passeth, oh, heart of me, heart of me!
  Love is a phantom, and Life is a dream!

William Sharp.

TRANSFORMATION SONG

Through the air, through the air,
We are borne; from our hair
A spicy odour is shaken:
We sing as we sail;
The strong trees quail,
And the dreaming doves awaken
The pale screech owl
That, cheek by jowl,
Goes ravening with night,
Thinks day has come,
And hurries home
Half-starved, to shun the light.
An eagle above us screams;
But a star blows a silver horn,
And a faint far echo floats
From the depths of the lakes, and the streams
Warble the shadowy notes.
A young lark thinks it morn,
And sings through our flying crowd,
That seems to his eager soul
Like a low-hung dawning-cloud.
The bells of midnight toll;
The night-flowers tell the hour;
And the stately planets roll,
As we fly to our lady's bower.

John Davidson, 1857–1909.

From "Scaramouch in Naxos."

BADGES OF THE CLANS

SUAICHEANTAIS[1] NAN GAIDHEAL;

OR, THE BADGES OF THE CLANS IN GAELIC AND ENGLISH[2]

Clans.	Gaelic.	English.
Buchanan	Dearc bhraoileag; Derag	Bilberry; Oak.
Cameron	Darag; Dearca-fithich	Oak; Crowberry.
Campbell	Roid; Garbhag an t-sléibhe	Wild Myrtle; Fir Club Moss.
Chisholm	Raineach	Fern.
Colquhoun	Broaileag nan con; Calltuinn	Dogberry; Hazel.
Cumin	Lus Mhic Cuimin	Cumin Plant.
Davidson	Lus nan cràimsheag, no Braoileag	Red Whortleberry.
Drummond	Lus an Righ; Cuileann	Wild Thyme (the oldest); Holly.
Ferguson, MacFarquhar, and Farquharson	Ròs-gréine; Lus-nam-ban-sith	Little Sunflower; Foxglove.
Forbes	Bealaidh	Broom.
Fraser	Iubhar	Yew.
Grant, MacAlpine, MacGregor, MacKinnon, and MacQuarrie	Giuthas	Scotch Fir, or Pine Tree.
Gordon	Iadh-shlat, Eitheann	Ivy.
Graham and MacLaren	Buaidh chraobh, na laibhreas	Laurel.
Gunn	Aiteann; Lus nan laoch	Juniper; Roseroot.
Johnston	Sgitheach Dearg	Red Hawthorn.
Lamont	Craobh ubhal fiadhain; Machall monaidh	Crab Apple Tree; Dryas.
MacArthur	Roid; Garbhag an t-sléibhe	Wild Myrtle; Fir Club Moss.
MacAulay	A'Mhuileag; Giuthas	Cranberry; Scotch Fir
MacDonald, MacDonell, MacAlister, and MacIntyre	Fraoch	Common Heath.
MacDougall	Fraoch Dearg	Bell Heath; Cypress.
Macfarlane	A'Muileag; Oireag, foighreag, or feireag	Cranberry; Cloudberry.
MacFie or MacPhee	Darag or Dearca-fithich	Oak or Crowberry.

Mackay	Seasgan or Cuilc	Red Grass (*Arundo phragmites*).
Mackenzie, MacMillan, and MacInnes	Cuileann	Holly.
MacLachlan	Caorunn	Mountain Ash or Rowan.
MacLeans of Duart, Brolas, Pennycross, and Druimnin	Dearca-fithich	Crowberry.
MacLeans of Ardgour, Coll, Dochgarroch, and MacLeans of the North	Cuileann	Holly.
MacLaine of Lochbuie	Dearcan-monaidh	Blaeberry.
MacLennan, Logan	Conasg	Furze.
MacLeod and Ross	Aiteann	Juniper.
MacNab	Dearca-fithich	Roebuckberry, also Crowberry.
MacNaughton	Lus Albannach	Trailing Azalea.
MacNeill	Machall monaidh; Feumainn	Dryas; Algæ.
MacPherson, M'Intosh, MacDuff, MacBean, Shaw, MacGillivray, Davidson, M'Queen, and many others, as belonging to Clan Chattan	Bocsa; Lus nan cràimsheag, braoileag	Boxwood. This is said to be the oldest badge; Red Whortleberry.
MacRae	Garbhag an t-sléibhe	Club Moss.
Menzies	Uinnsean	Mountain Ash.
Munro	Garbhag nan Gleann	Common Club Mos.
Murray	Calg-bhealaidh; Aiteann	Butcher's Broom; Juniper.
Ogilvie	Sgitheach Geal	Whitehorn, Hawthorn.
Robertson	Dlùth Fhraoch; Raineach	Fine-leaved Heath; Bracken.
Rose	Ròs-Màiri Fiadhaich	Wild Rosemary.
Sinclair	Conusg	Whin, or Gorse.
Stewart	Darag; Cluaran	Oak; also the Thistle, the present national badge. That of the Pictish Kings was Rudh (rue), which is joined with the Thistle in the Collar of the Order.
Sutherland	Calg-bhealaidh; Canach or canaichean	Butcher's Broom; Cotton Sedge.
Urquhart	Lus Leth-an-t-Samhraidh	Gillyflower; Wallflower.

NATIVE DYES

THE items in the following list have been gleaned from various sources. Many of the dyes are still employed in the Highlands.

COLOUR.	GAELIC.	DYES.
Black	Rùsg-Feàrna	Alder-tree bark.
Do.	Bun na Copaig	Dock root.
Do.	Bun an t-Seilisdeir	Water-flag root.
Blue	Dearcan-Fraoich, le Alm	Blueberry, with Alum
Do.	Droman, le Alm	Elder, with Alum.
Brown (yellowish)	Crotal	Lichen.
Do.	Duileasg	Dulse.
Do.	Preas-dearc, le Alm	Currant, with Alum.
Do. (dark)	Dearcan-Fraoich, le Cnoth-an-domblais	Blueberry, with Gall Nuts.
Crimson	Crotal Geal	White Lichen.
Do. (dark)	Crotal Dubh	Dark Lichen.
Flesh Colour	Cairt-Sheilich	Willow-bark.
Gray	Freumhaichean Sheilisdeir	Root of Yellow Water-flag.
Green	Bealaidh	Broom.
Do.	Rùsg-Conuisg	Whin-bark.
Do.	Lus-an-fhùcadair	Teasel, or Fuller's Thistle.
Do. (dark)	Fraoch, le Alm	Heather, with Alum.
Magenta	Bearnan-Bride	Dandelion.
Orange (dark)	Preas-Smeur	Bramble.
Purple	Lus-na-fèarnaich	Sundew.
Do.	Crotal, Còinneach	Lichen, Cupmoss.
Red	Crotal-nan-creag	Rock Lichen.
Do.	Crotal Geal	White Lichen.
Do.	Bun an Rùidh	Rue root.
Do.	Leanartach	Tormentil.
Scarlet	Crotal Cloich-aoil	Limestone Lichen.
Violet	Biolaire	Wild Cress.
Yellow	Roid	Bog-Myrtle.
Do.	Freumh na Craoibh-Uinn-sinn	Ash-tree root.
Do.	Bun na Rainich	Bracken root.
Do.	Lus Chaluim-Chille	St. John's Wort.
Do.	Lus-an-fhùcadair	Teasel.
Do.	Crotal	Lichen.
Do.	Fraoch, le Alm	Common Heather, with Alum.
Do. (bright)	Lus-na-fèarnaich, le sugh Chabar-féidh	Sundew, with Ammonia.

WAR-CRIES

OR, RALLYING WORDS OF SOME OF THE CLANS

Clan.	Gaelic.	English.
Buchanan	"Clàr Innis" . . .	An island in Loch Lomond.
Cameron	"Chlanna nan con thigibh a so 's gheibh sibh feòil"	"Sons of the hounds come here and get flesh."
Campbell	"Siol Diarmaid an Tuirc"	"The Clan of Diarmad of the Boar."
Do.	"Cruachan" . . .	A mountain near Loch Awe.
Colquhoun	"Cnoc Ealachain" .	"The Rock of Ealachain."
Farquharson	"Càrn na Cuimhne"	"Cairn of Remembrance."
Forbes	"Lònach"	A mountain in Strath Don.
Fraser	"A Mhor-fhaiche."	"The Great Field."
Do. (later) . . .	"Caisteal Dhünie."	"Castle Downie."
Gordon	"A Gordon! A Gordon!"	——
Grant	"Creag Ealachaidh"	"Stand Fast Craig Elaichaidh," "The Rock of Alarm."
Logan or MacLennan	"Druim nan deur"	"The Ridge of Tears"
MacAlpine	"Cuimhnich bàs Ailpein"	"Remember the death of Alpin."
MacDonald	"Fraoch Eilean" .	"The Heathery Isle"
Do. (Clanranald)	"Dh' aindeoin co theireadh e"	"Gainsay who dare."
MacDonell (Glengarry)	"Creagan-an-fhithich"	"The Raven's Rock."
Macdougall	"Buaidh no bàs" .	"Victory or Death."
Macfarlane	"Loch Slòigh" .	"The Loch of the Host."
MacGillivray	"Dunmaglass" . .	"Dunmaglass."
MacGregor	"Ard Coille" . . .	"The Woody Height."
MacIntosh	"Loch Mòigh" . .	"The Loch of the Plain," a lake near seat of the Chief.
MacIntyre	"Cruachan" . . .	A mountain near Loch Awe.
Mackay	"Bratach Bhàn Chlann Aoidh" .	"The White Banner of the Mackays."
Mackenzie	"Tulach Ard" . .	A mountain in Kintail
Mackinnon	"Cuimhnich bàs Ailpein"	"Remember the death Alpin."

Maclaren	"Creag an Tuirc"	"The Boar's Rock."
MacLean	"Beatha no Bàs" "Fear eil air son Eachainn"	"Life or Death." "Another for Hector." (Used alternately.)
MacLennan or Logan	"Druim nan deur"	"The Ridge of Tears."
MacNaughton	"Fraoch-Eilean"	"Heather Island," Loch Awe, Argyllshire.
MacNeill	"Buaidh no Bàs"	"Victory or Death."
MacPherson	"Creag Dhubh Chloinn Chatain"	"The Black Craig of Clan Chattan."
MacQuarrie	"An t-Arm Breac Dearg"	"The army of the checkered red" [tartan].
Macrae	"Sgur Urain"	A mountain in Kintail
Matheson	"Achadh dà thèarnaidh"	"Field of two Declivities."
Menzies	"Geal is Dearg a suas"	"Up with the White and Red."
Munro	"Caisteal Folais 'n a theine"	"Castle Fowlis ablaze"; referring probably to beacon or signal lights.
Scott	——	"A Bellendaine."
Stewart (Appin)	"Creag-an-Sgairbh"	"The Cormorant's Rock," on which is built Castle Stalker.
Sutherland	"Ceann na drochaide bige"	A bridge at Dunrobin

MILITARY SERVICE OF

THE HIGHLAND REGIMENTS

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CHAPTER I

THE BLACK WATCH

HITHERTO the account of the military exploits of the Highlanders has been limited to the exertions which, for a century, they made in behalf of the unfortunate Stuarts. We are now to notice their operations on a more extended field of action, by giving a condensed sketch of their services in the cause of the country and of the government; services which, by more fully developing their military character, have acquired for them a reputation as deserving as it has been unexampled. From moral as well as from physical causes, the Highlanders were well fitted to attain this pre-eminence.

"In forming his military character, the Highlander was not more favoured by nature than by the social system under which he lived. Nursed in poverty, he acquired a hardihood which enabled him to sustain severe privations. As the simplicity of his life gave vigour to his body, so it fortified his mind. Possessing a frame and constitution thus hardened, he was taught to consider courage as the most honourable virtue, cowardice the most disgraceful failing; to venerate and obey his chief, and to devote himself for his native country and clan; and thus prepared to be a soldier, he was

ready to follow wherever honour and duty called him. With such principles, and regarding any disgrace he might bring on his clan and district as the most cruel misfortune, the Highland private soldier had a peculiar motive to exertion. The common soldier of many other countries has scarcely any other stimulus to the performance of his duty than the fear of chastisement, or the habit of mechanical obedience to command, produced by the discipline in which he has been trained. With a Highland soldier it is otherwise. When in a national or district corps, he is surrounded by the companions of his youth and the rivals of his early achievements; he feels the impulse of emulation strengthened by the consciousness that every proof which he displays, either of bravery or cowardice, will find its way to his native home. He thus learns to appreciate the value of a good name; and it is thus, that in a Highland regiment, consisting of men from the same country, whose kindred and connections are mutually known, every individual feels that his conduct is the subject of observation, and that, independently of his duty as a member of a systematic whole, he has to sustain a separate and individual reputation, which will be reflected on his family, and district or glen. Hence he requires no artificial excitements. He acts from motives within himself; his point is fixed, and his aim must terminate either in victory or death. The German soldier considers himself as a part of the military machine, and duly marked out in the orders of the day. He moves onward to his destination with a well-trained pace, and with as phlegmatic indifference to the result as a labourer who works for his daily hire. The courage of the French soldier is supported in the hour of trial by his high notions of the point of honour; but this display of spirit is not always steady. Neither French nor

German is confident in himself if an enemy gain his flank or rear. A Highland soldier faces his enemy, whether in front, rear, or flank; and if he has confidence in his commander, it may be predicted with certainty that he will be victorious, or die on the ground which he maintains. He goes into the field resolved not to disgrace his name. A striking characteristic of the Highlander is, that all his actions seem to flow from sentiment. His endurance of privation and fatigue, — his resistance of hostile opposition, — his solicitude for the good opinion of his superiors, — all originate in this source, whence also proceeds his obedience, which is always most conspicuous when exhibited under kind treatment. Hence arises the difference observable between the conduct of one regiment of Highlanders and that of another, and frequently even of the same regiment at different times, and under different management. A Highland regiment, to be orderly and well disciplined, ought to be commanded by men who are capable of appreciating their character, directing their passions and prejudices, and acquiring their entire confidence and affection. The officer to whom the command of Highlanders is entrusted must endeavour to acquire their confidence and good opinion. With this view, he must watch over the propriety of his own conduct. He must observe the strictest justice and fidelity in his promises to his men, conciliate them by an attention to their dispositions and prejudices, and, at the same time, by preserving a firm and steady authority, without which he will not be respected.

"Officers who are accustomed to command Highland soldiers find it easy to guide and control them when their full confidence has been obtained; but when distrust prevails severity ensues, with a consequent neglect of duty, and by a continuance of this unhappy

misunderstanding, the men become stubborn, disobedient, and in the end mutinous. The spirit of a Highland soldier revolts at any unnecessary severity; though he may be led to the mouth of a cannon if properly directed, will rather die than be unfaithful to his trust. But if, instead of leading, his officers attempt to drive him, he may fail in the discharge of the most common duties. A learned and ingenious author, who, though himself a Lowlander, had ample opportunity, while serving in many campaigns with Highland regiments, of becoming intimately acquainted with their character, thus develops their conduct in the field; 'The character of ardour belongs to the Highlander; he acts from an internal sentiment, and possesses a pride of honour which does not permit him to retire from danger with a confession of inferiority. This is a property of his nature, and as it is so, it becomes the business of officers, who command Highland troops, to estimate the national character correctly, that they may not through ignorance misapply their means, and thereby concert their own ruin.

"'If ardour be the characteristic of the Highlanders, it is evident that they are not calculated for mechanical manœuvres, nor for demonstrations and encounters with a view to diversion; for unless the purpose be previously explained and understood in its full extent, the Highlander darts on the enemy with impetuosity, rushing into close action, where it was only intended to amuse. He does not brook disappointment, sustain a galling distant fire with coolness, or retire from an enterprise with temper. He may be trusted to cover the most dangerous retreat assigned to him as a duty; a retreat in consequence of his own failure is likely to degenerate into a rout. In action the Highlander requires to see his object fully. He then feels the im-

pression of his duty, and acts animately and consistently, more from impression and sentiment than from external impulse of command; for when an enemy is before the Highlander, the authority of the officer may be said to cease. Different nations have different excellencies or defects in war. Some excel in the use of missile weapons; the power of the Highlander lies in close combat. Close charge was his ancient mode of attack; and it is probably from impression engrafted in his nature in consequence of the national mode of war, that he still sustains the approaching point of a naked weapon with a steadier eye than any other man in Europe. Some nations turn with fear from the countenance of an enraged enemy. The Highlander rushes towards it with ardour; and if he can grasp his foe as man with man, his courage is secure.' "

The author here quoted by General Stewart, after describing the social meetings of the Highlanders, at which their warlike exploits were the theme of conversation, thus proceeds: — " The Highlanders, in this manner, looking daily on war, and the enterprise of war, with interest and animation, acquire radical ideas of the military art. Without design or formal intention, this germ of military education, planted in the first years of life, assumes a fair growth among these northern Scots; for as objects of war and warlike enterprise command more than other objects the exertions of the thinking faculty, the Highlanders, formed with sound minds, and susceptible of good impressions, discover more natural sagacity than any other class of people in the kingdom, perhaps than any other people in Europe. The Highlanders, in relation with their southern neighbours, were considered as freebooters, barbarians, given to spoil and plunder. In former times the charge had some appearance of truth, for the Lowlanders were

considered as a hostile or strange people. But though they drove the cattle of a hostile tribe, or ravaged a lowland district, with which they had no connection or bond of amity, their conduct in the year 1745 proves that they are neither a ferocious nor a cruel people; for no troops ever traversed a country which might be esteemed hostile with fewer traces of outrage. They are now better known; their character is conspicuous for honesty and fidelity. They possess the most exalted notions of honour, the warmest friendships, and the highest portion of mental pride of any people perhaps in Europe. Their ideas are few, but their sentiments are strong; their virtues, principles in their nature."

The design of rendering such a valuable class of subjects available to the state by forming regular military corps out of it, seems not to have entered into the views of the government till about the year 1729 or 1730, when six companies of Highlanders were raised, which, from forming distinct corps unconnected with each other, received the appellation of independent companies. Three of these companies consisted of one hundred men each, and were therefore called large companies. Lord Lovat, Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell, and Colonel Grant of Ballindalloch were appointed captains over them. The three smaller companies, which consisted of seventy each, were commanded by Colonel Alexander Campbell of Finab, John Campbell of Carrick, and George Munro of Culcairn, under the commission of captain-lieutenants. To each of the six companies were attached two lieutenants and one ensign. To distinguish them from the regular troops, who, from the colour of their clothes, were called *Saighdearan Dearg*, or Red Soldiers, the independent companies, who were attired in their native tartan, were designated *Am Freiceadan Dubh*, or Black Watch, — an appellation

which they received from the sombre appearance of their dress.

As the services of these companies were not required beyond their own territory, and as the intrants were not subjected to the humiliating provisions of the disarming act, no difficulty was found in forming them; and when completed, they presented the singular spectacle of a number of young men of respectable families serving as privates in the ranks. "Many of the men who composed these companies were of a higher station in society than that from which soldiers in general are raised; cadets of gentlemen's families, sons of gentlemen farmers, and tacksmen, either immediately or distantly descended from gentlemen's families, — men who felt themselves responsible for their conduct to high-minded and honourable families, as well as to a country for which they cherished a devoted affection. In addition to the advantages derived from their superior rank in life, they possessed, in an eminent degree, that of a commanding external deportment, special care being taken in selecting men of full height, well proportioned, and of handsome appearance."

The duties assigned to these companies were to enforce the disarming act, to overawe the disaffected, and watch their motions, and to check depredations. For this purpose they were stationed in small detachments in different parts of the country, and generally throughout the district in which they were raised. Thus Fort Augustus and the neighbouring parts of Inverness-shire were occupied by the Frasers under Lord Lovat; Ballindalloch and the Grants were stationed in Strathspey and Badenoch; the Munros, under Culcairn, in Ross and Sutherland; Lochnell's and Carrick's companies were stationed in Athole and Breadalbane, and Finab's in Lochaber, and the northern parts of Argyleshire among

the disaffected Camerons, and Stewarts of Appin. All Highlanders of whatever clan were admitted indiscriminately into these companies as soldiers; but the officers were taken, almost exclusively, from the Whig clans.

The independent companies continued to exist as such until the year 1739, when government resolved to raise four additional companies, and to form the whole into a regiment of the line. For this purpose, letters of service, dated the twenty-fifth of October, 1739, were addressed to the Earl of Craufurd and Lindsay, who was appointed to the command of the regiment about to be formed, which was to consist of one thousand men. The regiment was accordingly embodied in the month of May, 1740, on a field between Taybridge and Aberfeldy, in the county of Perth, under the number of the 43d regiment. "The uniform was a scarlet jacket and waistcoat, with buff facings and white lace, — tartan plaid of twelve yards plaited round the middle of the body, the upper part being fixed on the left shoulder ready to be thrown loose, and wrapped over both shoulders and firelock in rainy weather. At night the plaid served the purpose of a blanket, and was a sufficient covering for the Highlander. These were called belted plaids from being kept tight to the body by a belt, and were worn on guards, reviews, and on all occasions when the men were in full dress. On this belt hung the pistols and dirk when worn. In the barracks, and when not on duty, the little kilt or philibeg was worn, a blue bonnet with a border of white, red and green, arranged in small squares to resemble, as is said, the *fess cheque* in the arms of the different branches of the Stewart family, and a tuft of feathers, or sometimes, from economy or necessity, a small piece of black bearskin. The arms were a musket, a bayonet, and a large

basket-hilted broadsword. These were furnished by government. Such of the men as chose to supply themselves with pistols and dirks were allowed to carry them, and some had targets after the fashion of their country. The sword-belt was of black leather, and the cartouch-box was carried in front, supported by a narrow belt round the middle."

The officers appointed to this regiment were, —

Colonel — John, Earl of Craufurd and Lindsay, died in 1748.
Lieutenant-Colonel — Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis, Baronet, killed at Falkirk, 1746.
Major — George Grant, brother of the laird of Grant, removed from the service by sentence of a court-martial, for allowing the rebels to get possession of the castle of Inverness in 1746.

Captains

George Munro of Culcairn, killed in 1746.
Dugal Campbell of Craignish, retired in 1745.
John Campbell of Carrick, killed at Fontenoy.
Colin Campbell, junior, of Monzie, retired in 1743.
Sir James Colquhoun of Luss, Bart., retired in 1748.
Colin Campbell of Ballimore, retired.
John Munro, promoted to be lieutenant-colonel in 1745, retired in 1749.
Captain-Lieutenant Duncan Macfarlane, retired in 1744.

Lieutenants

Paul Macpherson.
Lewis Grant of Auchterblair.
John Maclean of Kingarloch. } Both removed from the regiment in consequence of having fought a duel in 1744.
John Mackenzie }
Alexander Macdonald.
Malcolm Fraser, son of Culduthel, killed at Bergen-op-Zoom, in 1747.
George Ramsay.
Patrick Grant, son of the laird of Grant, died lieutenant-general in 1782.
John Macneil.

Ensigns

Dugal Campbell.
Dugal Stewart.
John Menzies of Comrie.
Edward Carrick.
Archd. Macnab, son of the laird of Macnab, died lieut.-general, 1790.
Colin Campbell.

Gilbert Stewart of Kincraigie.
Gordon Graham of Draines.
Dugal Stewart.
James Campbell of Glenfalloch, died of wounds at Fontenoy.

Chaplain — Hon. Gideon Murray.
Surgeon — James Munro, son of Sir Henry Munro of Fowlis, killed at Falkirk in 1746.
Adjutant — Gilbert Stewart.
Quartermaster — John Forbes.

After remaining nearly eighteen months in quarters near Tay bridge, the regiment was marched northward, in the winter of 1741 and 1742, and the men remained in the stations assigned them till the spring of 1743, when they were ordered to repair to Perth. Having assembled there in March of that year, they were surprised on being informed that orders had been received to march the regiment for England, a step which they considered contrary to an alleged understanding when regimented, that the sphere of their services was not to extend beyond their native country. When the intention of employing them in foreign service came to be known, many of the warmest supporters of the government highly disapproved of the design, among whom was Lord President Forbes. In a letter to General Clayton, the successor of Marshal Wade, the chief commander in Scotland, his lordship thus expresses himself: "When I first heard of the orders given to the Highland regiment to march southwards, it gave me no sort of concern, because I supposed the intention was only to see them; but as I have lately been assured that they are destined for foreign service, I cannot dissemble my uneasiness at a resolution that may, in my apprehension, be attended with very bad consequences; nor can I prevail with myself not to communicate to you my thoughts on the subject, however late they may come; because if what I am to suggest has not been already under consideration, it's possible the resolution may be departed from."

After noticing the consequences which might result from leaving the Highlands unprotected from the designs of the disaffected in the event of a war with France, he thus proceeds: "Having thus stated to you the danger I dread, I must, in the next place, put you in mind, that the present system for securing the peace of the Highlands, which is the best I ever heard of, is by regular troops stationed from Inverness to Fort William, alongst the chain of lakes which in a manner divides the Highlands, to command the obedience of the inhabitants of both sides, and by a body of disciplined Highlanders, wearing the dress and speaking the language of the country, to execute such orders as require expedition, and for which neither the dress nor the manner of the other troops are proper. These Highlanders, now regimented, were at first independent companies; and though their dress, language, and manners, qualified them for securing the low country against depredations, yet that was not the sole use of them. The same qualities fitted them for every expedition that required secrecy and despatch; they served for all purposes of hussars or light horse, in a country where mountains and bogs render cavalry useless, and if properly disposed over the Highlands, nothing that was commonly reported and believed by the Highlanders could be a secret to their commanders, because of their intimacy with the people and the sameness of the language."

Notwithstanding this remonstrance, the government persisted in its determination to send the regiment abroad; and to deceive the men, from whom their real destination was concealed, they were told that the object of their march to England was merely to gratify the curiosity of the king, who was desirous of seeing a Highland regiment. Satisfied with this ex-

planation, they proceeded on their march. The English people, who had been led to consider the Highlanders as savages, were struck with the warlike appearance of the regiment and the orderly deportment of the men, who received in the country and towns through which they passed the most friendly attentions.

Having reached the vicinity of London on the twenty-ninth and thirtieth of April, in two divisions, the regiment was reviewed on the fourteenth of May, on Finchley Common, by Marshal Wade. The arrival of the corps in the neighbourhood of the metropolis had attracted vast crowds of people to their quarters, anxious to behold men of whom they had heard the most extraordinary relations; but, mingled with these, were persons who frequented the quarters of the Highlanders from a very different motive. Their object was to sow the seeds of distrust and disaffection among the men, by circulating misrepresentations and falsehoods respecting the intentions of the government. These incendiaries gave out that a gross deception had been practised upon the regiment, in regard to the object of their journey, in proof of which they adduced the fact of his Majesty's departure for Hanover, on the very day of the arrival of the last division, and that the real design of the government was to get rid of them altogether, as disaffected persons, and, with that view, that the regiment was to be transported for life to the American plantations. These insidious falsehoods had their intended effect upon the minds of the Highlanders, who took care, however, to conceal the indignation they felt at their supposed betrayers. All their thoughts were bent upon a return to their own country, and they concerted their measures for its accomplishment with a secrecy which escaped the observation of their officers, of whose integrity in the affair they do not, however,

appear to have entertained any suspicion. The mutiny which followed created a great sensation, and the circumstances which led to it formed, both in public and in private, the ordinary topic of discussion. The writer of a pamphlet, which was published immediately after the mutiny, and which contains the best view of the subject, and an intimate knowledge of the facts, thus describes the whole affair: "From their (the independent companies) first formation, they had always considered themselves as destined to serve exclusively in Scotland, or rather in the Highlands; and a special compact was made, allowing the men to retain their ancient national garb. From their origin and their local attachments, they seemed destined for this special service. Besides, in the discipline to which they were at first subjected under their natural chiefs and superiors, there was much affinity with their ancient usages, so that their service seemed merely that of a clan sanctioned by legal authority. These, and other considerations, strengthened them in the belief that their duty was of a defined and specific nature, and that they were never to be amalgamated with the regular disposable force of the country. As they were deeply impressed with this belief, it was quite natural that they should regard with great jealousy and distrust any indication of a wish to change the system. Accordingly, when the design of marching them into England was first intimated to their officers, the men were not shy in protesting against this unexpected measure. By conciliating language, however, they were prevailed upon to commence and continue their march without reluctance. It was even rumoured, in some foreign gazettes, that they had mutinied on the borders, killed many of their officers, carried off their colours, and returned to their native mountains. This account,

though glaringly false, was repeated from time to time in those journals, and was neither noticed nor contradicted in those of England, though such an occasion ought not to have been neglected, for giving a candid and full explanation to the Highlanders, which might have prevented much subsequent disquietude.

"On their march through the northern counties of England, they were everywhere received with such hospitality, that they appeared in the highest spirits; and it was imagined that their attachment to home was so much abated that they would feel no reluctance to the change. As they approached the metropolis, however, and were exposed to the taunts of the *true-bred English clowns*, they became more gloomy and sullen. Animated, even to the lowest private, with the feelings of gentlemen, they could ill brook the rudeness of boors — nor could they patiently submit to affronts in a country to which they had been called by invitation of their sovereign. A still deeper cause of discontent preyed upon their minds. A rumour had reached them on their march that they were to be embarked for the plantations. The fate of the marines, the invalids, and other regiments which had been sent to these colonies, seemed to mark out this service as at once the most perilous and the most degrading to which British soldiers could be exposed. With no enemy to encounter worthy of their courage, there was another consideration, which made it peculiarly odious to the Highlanders. By the act of Parliament of the eleventh of George I, transportation to the colonies was denounced against the Highland rebels, etc., as the greatest punishment that could be inflicted on them except death, and, when they heard that they were to be sent there, the galling suspicion naturally arose in their minds, that 'after being used as rods to scourge their own country-

men, they were to be thrown into the fire!' These apprehensions they kept secret even from their own officers; and the care with which they dissembled them is the best evidence of the deep impression which they had made. Amidst all their jealousies and fears, however, they looked forward with considerable expectation to the review, when they were to come under the immediate observation of his Majesty, or some of the royal family. On the fourteenth of May they were reviewed by Marshal Wade, and many persons of distinction, who were highly delighted with the promptitude and alacrity with which they went through their military exercises, and gave a very favourable report of them, where it was likely to operate most to their advantage. From that moment, however, all their thoughts were bent on the means of returning to their own country; and on this wild and romantic march they accordingly set out a few days after. Under pretence of preparing for the review, they had been enabled to provide themselves, unsuspectedly, with some necessary articles, and, confiding in their capability of enduring privations and fatigue, they imagined that they should have great advantages over any troops that might be sent in pursuit of them. It was on the night between Tuesday and Wednesday after the review that they assembled on a common near Highgate, and commenced their march to the north. They kept as nearly as possible between the two great roads, passing from wood to wood in such a manner that it was not well known which way they moved. Orders were issued by the lords-justices to the commanding officers of the forces stationed in the counties between them and Scotland, and an advertisement was published by the secretary at war, exhorting the civil officers to be vigilant in their endeavours to discover their route. It was not, however, till about

eight o'clock on the evening of Thursday, nineteenth May, that any certain intelligence of them was obtained, and they had then proceeded as far as Northampton, and were supposed to be shaping their course toward Nottinghamshire. General Blakeney, who commanded at Northampton, immediately despatched Captain Ball, of General Wade's regiment of horse, an officer well acquainted with that part of the country, to search after them. They had now entered Lady Wood, between Brig Stock and Dean Thorp, about four miles from Oundle, when they were discovered. Captain Ball was joined in the evening by the general himself, and about nine all the troops were drawn up in order, near the wood where the Highlanders lay. Seeing themselves in this situation, and unwilling to aggravate their offence by the crime of shedding the blood of his Majesty's troops, they sent one of their guides to inform the general that he might, without fear, send an officer to treat of the terms on which they should be expected to surrender. Captain Ball was accordingly delegated, and, on coming to a conference, the captain demanded that they should instantly lay down their arms and surrender as prisoners at discretion. This they positively refused, declaring that they would rather be cut to pieces than submit, unless the general should send them a written promise, signed by his own hand, that their arms should not be taken from them, and that they should have a free pardon. Upon this the captain delivered the conditions proposed by General Blakeney, viz., that if they would peaceably lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners, the most favourable report should be made of them to the lords-justices; when they again protested that they would be cut in pieces rather than surrender, except on the conditions of retaining their arms, and receiving a free pardon.

'Hitherto,' exclaimed the captain, 'I have been your friend, and am still anxious to do all I can to save you; but, if you continue obstinate an hour longer, surrounded as you are by the king's forces, not a man of you shall be left alive; and, for my own part, I assure you that I shall give quarter to none.' He then demanded that two of their number should be ordered to conduct him out of the wood. Two brothers were accordingly ordered to accompany him. Finding that they were inclined to submit, he promised them both a free pardon, and, taking one of them along with him, he sent back the other to endeavour, by every means, to overcome the obstinacy of the rest. He soon returned with thirteen more. Having marched them to a short distance from the wood, the captain again sent one of them back to his comrades to inform them how many had submitted; and in a short time seventeen more followed the example. These were all marched away with their arms (the powder being blown out of their pans), and when they came before the general they laid down their arms. On returning to the wood they found the whole body disposed to submit to the general's troops.

"While this was doing in the country," continues our author, "there was nothing but the flight of the Highlanders talked of in town. The wiser sort blamed it, but some of their hot-headed countrymen were for comparing it to the retreat of the ten thousand Greeks through Persia; by which, for the honour of the kingdom of Scotland, Corporal M'Pherson was erected into a Xenophon. But amongst these idle dreams, the most injurious were those that reflected on their officers, and by a strange kind of innuendo, would have fixed the crime of these people's desertion upon those who did their duty and stayed here.

"As to the rest of the regiment, they were ordered

immediately to Kent, whither they marched very cheerfully, and were from thence transported to Flanders, and are by this time with the army, where I dare say it will quickly appear they were not afraid of fighting the French. In King William's war there was a Highland regiment that to avoid going to Flanders, had formed a design of flying into the mountains. This was discovered before they could put it into execution; and General M'Kay, who then commanded in Scotland, caused them to be immediately surrounded and disarmed, and afterward shipped them for Holland. When they came to the confederate army, they behaved very briskly upon all occasions; but as pick-thanks are never wanting in courts, some wise people were pleased to tell King William that the Highlanders drank King James's health, — a report which was probably very true. The king, whose good sense taught him to despise such dirty informations, asked General Talmash, who was near him, how they behaved in the field? 'As well as any troops in the army,' answered the general, like a soldier and a man of honour. 'Why then,' replied the king, 'if they fight for me, let them drink my father's health as often as they please.' On the road, and even after they entered to London, they kept up their spirits, and marched very cheerfully; nor did they show any marks of terror when they were brought into the Tower."

Though it was evident that the Highlanders were led to commit this rash act under a false impression, and that they were the unconscious dupes of designing men, yet the government could not overlook such a gross breach of military discipline, and the deserters were accordingly tried before a general court-martial on the eighth of June. They were all found guilty, and condemned to be shot. Three only, however, suffered capitally. These were Corporals Malcolm, and Samuel M'Pherson,

and Farquhar Shaw, a private. They were shot upon the parade within the Tower, in presence of the other prisoners, who joined in their prayers with great earnestness. The unfortunate men met their death with composure, and acted with great propriety. Their bodies were put into three coffins by three of the prisoners, their clansmen and connections, and were buried together in one grave over the place of execution. From an ill-judged severity, one hundred of the deserters were equally divided between the garrisons of Gibraltar and Minorca, and a similar number was distributed among the different corps in the Leeward islands, Jamaica and Georgia, — a circumstance which, it is believed, impressed the Highlanders with an idea that the government had intended to deceive them.

Near the end of May the remainder of the regiment was sent to Flanders, where it joined the army under the command of Field-Marshal the Earl of Stair. During the years 1743 and 1744, they were quartered in different parts of that country; and by their quiet, orderly, and kind deportment, acquired the entire confidence of the people among whom they mixed. The regiment "was judged the most trustworthy guard of property, insomuch that the people in Flanders choose to have them always for their protection. Seldom were any of them drunk, and they as rarely swore. And the elector palatine wrote to his envoy in London, desiring him to thank the King of Great Britain for the excellent behaviour of the regiment while in his territories in 1743 and 1744, and for whose sake he adds, 'I will always pay a respect and regard to a Scotchman in future.'"

Lord Sempill, who had succeeded the Earl of Craufurd in the colonelcy of the regiment in 1740, being appointed in April, 1745, to the 25th regiment, Lord John Murray,

son of the Duke of Athole, succeeded him as colonel of the Highlanders. During the command of these officers, the regiment was designated by the titles of its successive commanders, as Lord Craufurd's, Lord Sempill's, and Lord John Murray's Highlanders.

Baffled in his efforts to prevent the elevation of the Grand Duke of Tuscany to the imperial throne, the King of France resolved to humble the house of Austria by making a conquest of the Netherlands. With this view he assembled an immense army in Flanders under the command of the celebrated Marshal Saxe, and having with the dauphin joined the army in April, 1745, he, on the thirtieth of that month, invested Tournay, then garrisoned by eight thousand men, commanded by General Baron Dorth, who defended the place with vigour. The Duke of Cumberland, who arrived from England early in May, assumed the command of the allied army assembled at Soignies. It consisted of twenty battalions and twenty-six squadrons of British, five battalions and sixteen squadrons of Hanoverians, all under the immediate command of his Royal Highness; twenty-six battalions and forty squadrons of Dutch commanded by the Prince of Waldeck; and eight squadrons of Austrians under the command of Count Konigseg.

Though the allied army was greatly inferior in number to the enemy, yet as the French army was detached, the duke resolved to march to the relief of Tournay. Marshal Saxe, who soon became aware of the design of the allies, drew up his army in line of battle, on the right bank of the Scheldt, extending from the wood of Barri to Fontenoy, and thence to the village of St. Antoine in sight of the British army. Entrenchments were thrown up at both villages, besides three redoubts in the intermediate space, and two at the corner of the

wood whence a deep ravine extended to Fontenoy, and another thence to St. Antoine. Along the whole space from the wood to St. Antoine was posted a double line of infantry in front, and cavalry in the rear, and an additional force of infantry and cavalry was formed behind the redoubts and batteries. Opposite to St. Antoine on the other side of the river, a battery was also erected. The marshal distributed his numerous artillery along the line, and in the village and redoubts.

The allied army advanced to Leuse, and on the ninth of May took up a position between the villages of Bougries and Maulbre, in sight of the French army. In the evening the duke, attended by Field-Marshal Konigseg and the Prince of Waldeck, reconnoitred the position of Marshal Saxe. They were covered by the Highlanders, who kept up a sharp fire with the French sharpshooters who were concealed in the woods. After a general survey, the Earl of Craufurd, who was left in command of the advance of the army, proceeded with the Highlanders and a party of hussars to examine the enemy's outposts more narrowly. In the course of the day a Highlander in advance observing that one of the sharpshooters repeatedly fired at his post, placed his bonnet upon the top of a stick near the verge of a hollow road. This stratagem decoyed the Frenchman, and whilst he was intent on his object, the Highlander approaching cautiously to a point which afforded a sure aim, succeeded in bringing him to the ground.

Having ascertained that a plain which lay between the positions of two armies was covered with some flying squadrons of the enemy, and that their outposts commanded some narrow defiles through which the allied forces had necessarily to march to the attack, the Duke of Cumberland resolved to scour the plain, and to dislodge the outposts, preparatory to advancing upon the

besieging army. Accordingly at an early hour next morning, six battalions and twelve squadrons were ordered to disperse the forces on the plain and clear the defiles, a service which they soon performed. Some Austrian hussars being hotly pressed on this occasion by the French light troops, a party of Highlanders was sent to support them, and the Frenchmen were quickly repulsed with loss. This was the first time the Highlanders stood the fire of the enemy in a regular body, and so well did they acquit themselves that they were particularly noticed for their spirited conduct.

Resolving to attack the enemy next morning, the commander-in-chief of the allied army made the necessary dispositions. Opposite the space between Fontenoy and the wood of Barri, he formed the British and Hanoverian infantry in two lines, and posted their cavalry in the rear. Near the left of the Hanoverians he drew up the Dutch, whose left was towards St. Antoine. The French in their turn completed their batteries, and made the most formidable preparations to receive the allies. At two o'clock in the morning of the eleventh of May, the Duke of Cumberland began his march, and drew up his army in front of the enemy in the above order. The engagement began about four by the guards and Highlanders attacking a redoubt, advanced on the right of the wood near Vizou, occupied by six hundred men, in the vicinity of which place the dauphin was posted. Though the enemy were entrenched breast-high, they were forced out by the guards with bayonets, and by the Highlanders with sword, pistol, and dirk, who killed a considerable number of them.

After the redoubt had been carried, the British and Hanoverians advanced to the attack; and though the French contested every inch of ground with the greatest pertinacity, they were driven back on their entrench-

Scene on the Tunnel

Photogravure from the Painting by Houston

ments. Meanwhile the Dutch on the left made an unsuccessful attack upon Fontenoy. The enemy, keeping up an incessant and destructive fire from their batteries, the Duke of Cumberland sent a detachment, of which the Highlanders formed a part, to take possession of the wood of Barri, and drive the enemy from that redoubt; but owing to accident or mistake, no attack was made. The Dutch having failed in several attempts to obtain possession of Fontenoy, his Royal Highness ordered Lord Sempill's regiment to assist them, but with as little success. Determined, notwithstanding these untoward circumstances, to cross the ravine between the redoubts and the village, the duke pushed forward; but after advancing beyond the ravine, he found that he had not a sufficiency of ground to form his whole army in line. He, therefore, made the flanks wheel back on their right and left, and then facing towards their proper front, they moved forward along with the centre, the whole forming the three sides of a hollow square. Supported by cavalry, the French infantry made three desperate attacks upon the allied army, while marching in this order; but though they were assisted by a heavy cannonade from the whole of the batteries, they were repulsed in every charge.

The allies continuing steadfastly to advance, Marshal Saxe, who had, during three attacks, lost some of his bravest men, began to think of a retreat; but being extremely averse to abandoning his position, he resolved to make a last effort to retrieve the fortune of the day by attacking his assailants with all his forces. Being far advanced in a dropsy, the marshal had been carried about the whole day in a litter. This he now quitted, and mounting his horse, he rode over the field giving the necessary orders, whilst two men supported him on each side. He brought forward the household troops

of the King of France. He posted his best cavalry on the flanks, and the king's body-guards, with the flower of the infantry in the centre. Having also brought up all his field-pieces, he, under cover of their fire and that of the batteries, made a combined charge of cavalry and infantry on the allied army, the greater part of which had, by this time, formed into line by advancing beyond the confined ground. The allies, unable to withstand the impetuosity of this attack, gave way, and were driven back across the ravine, carrying along with them the Highlanders, who had been ordered up from the attack of the village, and two other regiments ordered from the reserve to support the line. After rallying for a short time beyond the ravine, the whole army retreated by order of the duke, the Highlanders and Howard's regiment (the 19th) under the command of Lord Craufurd, covering the rear. The retreat, which was commenced about three o'clock in the afternoon, was effected in excellent order. When it was over his lordship pulled off his hat, and returning thanks to the covering party, said "that they had acquired as much honour in covering so great a retreat, as if they had gained a battle." The carnage on both sides was great. The allies lost, in killed and wounded, about seven thousand men, including a number of officers. The loss of the French is supposed to have equalled that of the allies. The Highlanders lost Captain John Campbell of Carrick,[3] whose head was carried off by a cannon-ball early in the action; Ensign Lachlane Campbell, son of Craignish, and thirty men; Captain Robert Campbell of Finab; Ensigns Ronald Campbell, nephew of Craignish, and James Campbell, son of Glenfalloch; two sergeants, and eighty-six rank and file wounded.

Before the engagement, the part which the Highlanders would act formed a subject of intense specula-

tion. Those who knew them had no misgivings; but there were other persons, high in rank, who looked upon the support of such men with an unfavourable eye. So strong was this impression "in some high quarters, that, on the rapid charge made by the Highlanders, when pushing forward sword in hand nearly at full speed, and advancing so far, it was suggested that they inclined to change sides and join the enemy, who had already three brigades of Scotch and Irish engaged, which performed very important services on that day." All anxiety, however, was soon put an end to by the decided way in which they sustained the national honour.

Captain John Munro of the 43d regiment, in a letter to Lord President Forbes, thus describes the battle: "A little after four in the morning, the thirtieth of April, our cannon began to play, and the French batteries, with triple our weight of metal and numbers too, answered us; about five the infantry was in march; we (the Highlanders) were in the centre of the right brigade; but by six were ordered to cross the field (I mean our regiment, for the rest of our brigades did not march to attack), a little village on the left of the whole, called Fontenoy. As we passed the field the French batteries played upon our front, and right and left flanks, but to no purpose, for their batteries being upon rising ground, their balls flew over us and hurt the second line. We were to support the Dutch, who, in their usual way, were very dilatory. We got within musket-shot of their batteries, when we received three full fires of their batteries and small arms, which killed us forty men and one ensign. Here we were obliged to skulk behind houses and hedges for about an hour and a half, waiting for the Dutch, who, when they came up, behaved but so and so. Our regiment being in some disorder, I

wanted to draw them up in rear of the Dutch, which their general would scarce allow of; but at last I did it, and marched them again to the front. In half an hour after the Dutch gave way, and Sir Robert Munro thought proper we should retire; for we had then the whole batteries from the enemy's ground playing upon us, and three thousand foot ready to fall upon us. We retired; but before we had marched thirty yards, we had orders to return to the attack, which we did; and in about ten minutes after had orders to march directly with all expedition, to assist the Hanoverians, who had got by this time well advanced upon the batteries upon the left. They behaved most gallantly and bravely; and had the Dutch taken example from them, we had supped at Tournay. The British behaved well; we (the Highlanders) were told by his Royal Highness that we did our duty well. . . . By two of the clock we all retreated; and we were ordered to cover the retreat, as the only regiment that could be kept to their duty, and in this affair we lost sixty more; but the duke made so friendly and favourable a speech to us, that if we had been ordered to attack their lines afresh, I dare say our poor fellows would have done it."

The Highlanders on this occasion were commanded by Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis, their lieutenant-colonel, in whom, besides great military experience, were united all the best qualities of the soldier. Aware of the importance of allowing his men to follow their accustomed tactics, he obtained leave of the Duke of Cumberland to allow them to fight in their own way. He accordingly "ordered the whole regiment to clap to the ground on receiving the French fire; and instantly after its discharge they sprang up, and coming close to the enemy, poured in their shot upon them to the certain destruction of multitudes, and drove them precipitately through

their lines; then retreating, drew up again, and attacked them a second time after the same manner. These attacks they repeated several times the same day, to the surprise of the whole army. Sir Robert was everywhere with his regiment, notwithstanding his great corpulency, and when in the trenches he was hauled out by the legs and arms by his own men; and it is observed that when he commanded the whole regiment to clap to the ground, he himself alone, with the colours behind him, stood upright, receiving the whole fire of the enemy; and this because (as he said), though he could easily lie down, his great bulk would not suffer him to rise so quickly. His preservation that day was the surprise and astonishment not only of the whole army, but of all that heard the particulars of the action."

The gallantry thus displayed by Sir Robert and his regiment was the theme of universal admiration in Britain, and the French themselves could not withhold their meed of praise. "It must be owned," says a French writer, "that our forces were thrice obliged to give way, and nothing but the good conduct and extreme calmness of Marshal Saxe could have brought them to the charge the last time, which was about two o'clock, when the allies in their turn gave way. Our victory may be said to be complete; but it cannot be denied, that, as the allies behaved extremely well, more especially the English, so they made a soldier-like retreat, which was much favoured by an adjacent wood. The British behaved well, and could be exceeded in ardour by none but our officers, who animated the troops by their example, when the Highland furies rushed in upon us with more violence than ever did a sea driven by a tempest. I cannot say much of the other auxiliaries, some of whom looked as if they had no great concern in the matter which way it went. In short, we gained

the victory; but may I never see such another!" Some idea may be formed of the havoc made by the Highlanders from the fact of one of them having killed nine Frenchmen with his broadsword, and he was only prevented from increasing the number by his arm being shot off.

In consequence of the rebellion in Scotland, eleven of the British regiments were ordered home in October, 1745, among whom was the 43d. The Highlanders arrived in the Thames on the fourth of November, and whilst the other regiments were sent to Scotland under General Hawley to assist in quelling the insurrection, the 43d was marched to the coast of Kent, and joined the division of the army assembled there to repel an expected invasion. When it is considered that more than three hundred of the soldiers in the 43d had fathers and brothers engaged in the rebellion, the prudence and humanity of keeping them aloof from a contest between duty and affection are evident. Three new companies, which had been added to the regiment in the early part of the year 1745, were, however, employed in Scotland against the rebels before joining the regiment. These companies were raised chiefly in the districts of Athole, Breadalbane, and Braemar, and the command of them was given to the laird of Mackintosh, Sir Patrick Murray of Ochtertyre, and Campbell of Inveraw, who had recruited them. The subalterns were James Farquharson, the younger of Invercauld; John Campbell, the younger of Glenlyon, and Dugald Campbell; and Ensign Allan Grant, son of Glenmoriston; John Campbell, son of Glenfalloch; and Allan Campbell, son of Barcaldine. General Stewart observes that the privates of these companies, though of the best character, did not occupy that rank in society for which so many individuals of the independent companies had been

distinguished. One of these companies, as has been elsewhere observed, was at the battle of Prestonpans. The services of the other two companies were confined to the Highlands during the rebellion, and after its suppression they were employed along with detachments of the English army in the barbarous task of burning the houses, and laying waste the lands of the rebels, — a service which must have been very revolting to their feelings.

Having projected the conquest of Quebec, the government fitted out an expedition at Portsmouth, the land-forces of which consisted of six thousand men, including Lord John Murray's Highlanders, as the 43d regiment was now called. The armament having been delayed from various causes until the season was too far advanced for crossing the Atlantic, it was resolved to employ it in making a descent on the coast of France, for the purpose of surprising the Port l'Orient, then the repository of all the stores and ships belonging to the French East India Company. While this new expedition was in preparation, the Highland regiment was increased to eleven hundred men, by draughts from the three companies in Scotland.

As the force destined for North America was considered inadequate for the intended descent on France, a reinforcement of two thousand of the foot-guards and a large detachment of artillery were added to it. The expedition sailed from Portsmouth on the fifteenth day of September, 1746, under the command of Rear-Admiral Lestock, and on the twentieth the troops were landed, without much opposition, in Quimperly bay, ten miles from Port l'Orient. General St. Clair, the commander, reached L'Orient on the twenty-fourth, and having, on the evening of next day, completed one mortar-battery and two twelve-gun batteries, he laid siege to

the place. Having offered to surrender on terms which were rejected, the inhabitants prepared for a vigorous defence. Assuming a garb resembling that worn by the Highland soldiers, the garrison advanced towards the batteries, and under that disguise approached very near before the deception was discovered. They were then driven back amidst a volley of grape-shot, and pursued by the Highlanders. As the besieged soon obtained a great accession of force, and as General St. Clair soon perceived that he could not carry the place, he abandoned the siege, and retiring to the sea-coast, re-embarked his troops.

Some of these forces returned to England; the rest landed in Ireland. The Highlanders arrived at Cork on the fourth of November, whence they marched to Limerick, where they remained till February, 1747, when they returned to Cork, where they embarked to join a new expedition for Flanders. This force, which consisted chiefly of the troops that had been recalled in 1745, sailed from Leith roads in the beginning of April, 1747. Lord Loudon's Highlanders and a detachment from the three additional companies of Lord John Murray's Highlanders also joined this force; and such was the eagerness of the latter for this service, that when informed that only a part of them was to join the army, they all claimed permission to embark, in consequence of which demand it was found necessary to settle the question of preference by drawing lots.

To relieve Hulst, which was closely besieged by Count Lowendahl, a detachment, consisting of Lord John Murray's Highlanders, the first battalion of the Royals and Bragg's regiment, was ordered to Flushing, under the command of Major-General Fuller. They landed at Stapledyke on the first of May. The Dutch governor of Hulst, General St. Roque, ordered the Royals to join

the Dutch camp at St. Bergue, and directed the Highlanders and Bragg's regiment to halt within four miles of Hulst. On the fifth of May the besiegers began an assault, and drove the outguards and piquets back into the garrison, and would have carried the place, had not the Royals maintained their post with the greatest bravery till relieved by the Highland regiment, when the French were compelled to retire. The Highlanders had only five privates killed and a few wounded on this occasion. The French continuing the siege, St. Roque surrendered the place, although he was aware that an additional reinforcement of nine battalions was on the march to his relief. The British troops then embarked for South Beveland. Three hundred of the Highland regiment, who were the last to embark, were attacked by a body of French troops. "They behaved with so much bravery, that they beat off three or four times their number, killing many, and making some prisoners, with only the loss of four or five of their own number."

Having collected his whole army, the Duke of Cumberland posted himself between the two Nethes to cover Bergen-op-Zoom and Maestricht; and Marshal Saxe, calling in his detachments, encamped between Mechlin and Louvain, with the view of hazarding a general engagement. Arriving at Brussels on the fifteenth of June, the French king put his army in motion towards Tirlemont. The allies formed themselves in order of battle, with their right at Bilsen, and their left extending to Wirle, within a mile of Maestricht, having in the front of their left wing the village of Lafeldt, in which were posted several battalions of British infantry. Prince Wolfenbuttle was posted at the abbey of Everbode with the reserve of the first line, and the second line took up a position at Westerloo to sustain the reserve. These arrangements were completed on the seventeenth of

June; but no engagement took place till the morning of the second of July, although both armies cannonaded each other the preceding day.

In the morning the enemy's infantry marched down from the heights of Herdeeren in a large column, and attacked the village of Lafeldt. In their approach they suffered dreadfully from the cannon of the allies, and from a well-directed fire from the British musketry. The French, unable to withstand, retired; but fresh brigades coming up the allies were obliged in their turn to abandon the village. For four hours the battle raged round this village, which was thrice carried, and as often lost. About noon, the Duke of Cumberland ordered the whole left wing to advance against the enemy, whose infantry gave way. Prince Waldeck led up the centre, and Marshal Bathiani making a motion with the right wing towards Herdeeren, victory seemed within reach of the confederates, when the fortune of the day was suddenly changed by the Irish and Scotch brigades [4] in the service of France, who being ordered up by Marshal Saxe, charged and drove back in great confusion the centre of the allied army. At this critical moment some squadrons of Dutch cavalry who were in the rear, instead of supporting the line, turned to the right-about, and flying off at full gallop, overthrew five battalions of infantry that were marching up from the reserve. The confusion was still farther increased by the French cavalry, who charged the confederates with great impetuosity, and penetrated through their lines. The Duke of Cumberland with difficulty reached the left wing; and the defeat would in all probability have been complete, had not Sir John Ligonier gallantly resolved, at the imminent risk of his life, to save the army. At the head of three British regiments of dragoons, and some squadrons of Austrians, he charged the whole line of the

French cavalry with such vigour and success, as to overthrow all who opposed him. By this diversion the Duke of Cumberland was enabled to effect an orderly retreat to Maestricht. Sir John Ligonier, after having his horse killed under him, was taken prisoner. The allies lost 5,620 men in killed and wounded; but the loss of the French was nearly double that number.

A few days after the battle, Count Lowendahl laid siege to Bergensop-Zoom with a force of twenty-five thousand men. This place, from the strength of its fortifications, the favourite work of the celebrated Coehorn, having never been stormed, was deemed impregnable. The garrison consisted of three thousand men, including Lord Loudon's Highlanders. Though Lord John Murray's Highlanders remained in South Beveland, his lordship, with Captain Fraser of Culduthel, Captain Campbell of Craignish, and several other officers of his regiment, joined the besieged. After about two months' siege, this important fortress was taken by storm from the too great confidence of Constrom, the governor, who never anticipated an assault. On obtaining possession of the ramparts, the French attempted to enter the town, but were attacked with such impetuosity by two battalions of the Scottish troops in the pay of the States-general, that they were driven from street to street, until fresh reinforcements arriving, the Scotch were compelled to retreat in their turn; yet they disputed every inch of ground, and fought till two-thirds of them were killed on the spot. The remainder then abandoned the town, carrying the old governor along with them.

The different bodies of the allied army assembled in the neighbourhood of Raremond in March, 1748, but, with the exception of the capture of Maestricht, no military event of any importance took place in the

Netherlands; and preliminaries of peace having been signed, the Highlanders returned to England in December, and were afterward sent to Ireland. The three additional companies had assembled at Prestonpans in March, 1748, for the purpose of embarking for Flanders; but the orders to ship were countermanded in consequence of the preliminaries of peace being signed, and in the course of that year these companies were reduced. The following year, in consequence of the reduction of the 42d regiment (Oglethorpe's), the number of the Highland regiment was changed from the 43d to the 42d, the number it has ever since retained.

During eight years that the Highlanders were stationed in Ireland, the utmost cordiality subsisted between them and the inhabitants of the different districts where they were quartered, — a circumstance the more remarkable when it is considered that the military were generally embroiled in quarrels with the natives. So lasting and favourable an impression did they make, that upon the return of the regiment from America, after an absence of eleven years, applications were made from the towns and districts where they had been formerly quartered, to get them again stationed among them. Although, as General Stewart observes, the similarity of language, and the general and prevailing belief of the same origin, might have had some influence with both parties, yet nothing but the most exemplary good conduct on the part of the Highlanders could have overcome the natural repugnance of a people who, at that time, justly regarded the British soldiery as ready instruments of oppression.

In consequence of the mutual encroachments made by the French and English on their respective territories in North America, both parties prepared for war; and as the British ministry determined to make their chief

efforts against the enemy in that quarter, they resolved to send two bodies of troops thither. The first division, of which the Highlanders formed a part, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir James Abercromby, set sail in March, 1756, and landed at New York in June following. In the month last mentioned seven hundred recruits, who had been raised by recruiting parties sent from the regiment previous to its departure from Ireland, embarked at Greenock for America. When the Highlanders landed, they attracted much notice, particularly on the part of the Indians, who, on the march of the regiment to Albany, flocked from all quarters to see strangers, whom, from the similarity of their dress, they considered to be of the same extraction as themselves, and whom they therefore regarded as brothers.

Before the departure of the 42d regiment, several changes and promotions had taken place. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell (the late Duke of Argyle), who had commanded the regiment during the six years they were quartered in Ireland, having been promoted to the command of the 54th, was succeeded by Major Grant, who was so popular with the men, that, on the vacancy occurring, they subscribed a sum of money among themselves to purchase the lieutenant-colonelcy for him; but the money was not required, the promotion at that time being without purchase. Captain Duncan Campbell of Inveraw was appointed major; Thomas Græme of Duchray, James Abercromby, son of General Abercromby of Glassa, the commander of the expedition, and John Campbell of Strachur, were made captains; Lieutenant John Campbell, captain-lieutenant; Ensigns Kenneth Tolme, James Grant, John Græme, brother of Duchray, Hugh M'Pherson, Alexander Turnbull of Stracathro, and Alexander Campbell, son of

Barcaldine, were raised to the rank of lieutenants. From the half-pay lists were taken Lieutenants Alexander M'Intosh, James Gray, William Baillie, Hugh Arnot, William Sutherland, John Small, and Archibald Campbell; the ensigns were James Campbell, Archibald Lamont, Duncan Campbell, George M'Lagan, Patrick Balneaves, son of Edradour, Patrick Stewart, son of Bonskeid, Norman M'Leod, George Campbell, and Donald Campbell.

The regiment had been now sixteen years embodied, and although its original members had by this time almost disappeared, "their habits and character were well sustained by their successors, to whom they were left, as it were, in charge. This expectation has been fulfilled through a long course of years and events. The first supply of recruits after the original formation, was, in many instances, inferior to their predecessors in personal appearance, as well as in private station and family connections; but they lost nothing of that firm step, erect air, and freedom from awkward restraint, the consequence of a spirit of independence and self-respect, which distinguished their predecessors."

The second division of the expedition, under the Earl of Loudon, who was appointed commander-in-chief of the army in North America, soon joined the forces under General Abercromby; but, owing to different causes, they did not take the field till the summer of the following year. Pursuant to an attack on Louisburg, Lord Loudon embarked in the month of June for Halifax with the forces under his command, amounting to 5,300 men. At Halifax his forces were increased to 10,500 men, by the addition of five regiments lately arrived from England, including Fraser's and Montgomery's Highlanders.

When on the eve of his departure from Halifax, Lord

Loudon received information by means of some small vessels he had sent out to examine and reconnoitre the condition of the enemy, that the Brest fleet had arrived in the harbour of Louisburg. In consequence of this intelligence, the preparations for the expedition were suspended, and several councils of war were held, at which various opinions were delivered; but the resolution to abandon the enterprise was not taken till it clearly appeared from letters which were taken in a packet bound from Louisburg to France, that the force was too great to be encountered. It turned out that there were at that time at Louisburg six thousand regular troops, three thousand natives, and thirteen hundred Indians, with seventeen ships of the line and three frigates moored in the harbour, and that the place was well supplied with ammunition, provisions, and every kind of military store. Leaving the remainder of the troops at Halifax, Lord Loudon returned to New York, taking along with him the Highlanders and four other regiments.

The Marquis de Montcalm, the commander of the French army, in the meantime availed himself of the departure of Lord Loudon from New York, to improve the advantages he had already gained. Collecting all his disposable forces, amounting, with Indians, to eight thousand men, and a large train of artillery, he laid siege to Fort William-Henry, garrisoned by three thousand men under the command of Colonel Munro. After a siege of six days, Colonel Munro surrendered, on condition that the garrison should not serve for eighteen months. As the garrison marched out the Indians fell upon them, robbed them of their effects, and, dragging the Indians in the English service out of the ranks, assassinated them in presence of the French commander, who was either unwilling or unable to restrain them.

The Earl of Loudon having been recalled, the command of the army devolved on General Abercromby. Determined to wipe off the disgrace of former campaigns, the ministry, who had just come into power, fitted out a great naval armament and a military force of thirty-two thousand men, which were placed under commanders who enjoyed the confidence of the country. The command of the fleet was given to Admiral Boscawen; and Brigadier-Generals Wolfe, Townsend, and Murray were added to the military staff. Three expeditions were planned in 1758, one against Louisburg; another against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and a third against Fort du Quesne.

General Abercromby, the commander-in-chief, took charge of the expedition against Ticonderoga, with a force of 15,390 men, of whom 6,337 were regulars (including Lord John Murray's Highlanders), and 9,024 provincials, besides a train of artillery.

Fort Ticonderoga stands on a tongue of land between Lake Champlain and Lake George, and is surrounded on three sides by water; part of the fourth side is protected by a morass; the remaining part was strongly fortified with high entrenchments, supported and flanked by three batteries, and the whole front of that part which was accessible was intersected by deep traverses, and blocked up with felled trees, with their branches turned outwards, and their points first sharpened and then hardened by fire, forming altogether a most formidable defence. On the fourth of July the commander-in-chief embarked his troops on Lake George, on board nine hundred batteaux and 135 whale-boats, with provisions, artillery, and ammunition, several pieces of cannon being mounted on rafts to cover the landing, which was effected next day without opposition. The troops were then formed into two parallel columns, and in this order

marched towards the enemy's advanced post, consisting of one battalion, encamped behind a breast-work of logs. The enemy abandoned this defence without a shot, after setting the breast-work on fire and burning their tents and implements. The troops continued their march in the same order, but the route lying through a wood, and the guides being imperfectly acquainted with the country, the columns were broken by coming in contact with each other. The right column, at the head of which was Lord Howe, fell in with a detachment of the enemy who had also lost their way in the retreat from the advanced post, and a smart skirmish ensuing, the enemy were routed with considerable loss. Lord Howe unfortunately fell in the beginning of this action. He was much regretted, being "a young nobleman of the most promising talents, who had distinguished himself in a peculiar manner by his courage, activity, and rigid observance of military discipline, and had acquired the esteem and affection of the soldiery by his generosity, sweetness of manners, and engaging address."

Perceiving that his men were greatly fatigued, General Abercromby ordered them to march back to their landing-place, which they reached about eight o'clock in the morning. Having taken possession of a sawmill in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga, which the enemy had abandoned, General Abercromby advanced towards the place next morning. It was garrisoned by five thousand men, of whom twenty-eight hundred were French troops of the line, who were stationed behind the traverses and felled trees in front of the fort. Receiving information from some prisoners that General Levi, with a force of three thousand men, was marching to the defence of Ticonderoga, the English commander resolved to anticipate him by striking, if possible, a decisive blow before a junction could be effected. He therefore sent

an engineer across the river on the opposite side of the fort to reconnoitre the enemy's entrenchments, who reported that the works being still unfinished, might be attempted with a prospect of success. Preparations for the attack were therefore instantly made. The whole army being put in motion, the piquets, followed by the grenadiers, the battalions and reserve, which last consisted of the Highlanders and the 55th regiment, advanced with great alacrity towards the entrenchments, which they found to be much more formidable than they expected. The breast-work, which was regularly fortified, was eight feet high, and the ground before it was covered with an *abbatis* or *chevaux-de-frize*, projecting in such a manner as to render the entrenchment almost inaccessible. Undismayed by these discouraging obstacles, the British troops marched up to the assault in the face of a destructive fire, and maintained their ground without flinching. Impatient in the rear, the Highlanders broke from the reserve, and, pushing forward to the front, endeavoured to cut their way through the trees with their broadswords. After a long and deadly struggle, the assailants penetrated the exterior defences and advanced to the breast-work; but being unprovided with scaling ladders, they attempted to gain the breast-work, partly by mounting on each other's shoulders, and partly by fixing their feet in the holes which they made with their swords and bayonets, in the face of the work. No sooner, however, did a man reach the top, than he was thrown down by the troops behind the entrenchments. Captain John Campbell,[5] and a few men, at length forced their way over the breast-work, but they were immediately despatched with the bayonet. After a desperate struggle, which lasted about four hours under such discouraging circumstances, General Abercromby seeing no possible chance of suc-

cess, gave orders for a retreat. It was with difficulty, however, that the troops could be prevailed upon to retire, and it was not till the third order that the Highlanders were induced to retreat, after more than one-half of the men and twenty-five officers had been either killed or desperately wounded. No attempt was made to molest them in their retreat, and the whole retired in good order, carrying along with them the whole of the wounded, amounting to sixty-five officers and 1,178 non-commissioned officers and soldiers. Twenty-three officers and 567 rank and file were killed.

The loss sustained by the 42d regiment was as follows, viz.: Eight officers, nine sergeants, and 297 men killed; and seventeen officers, ten sergeants, and 306 soldiers wounded. The officers killed were Major Duncan Campbell of Inveraw, Captain John Campbell, Lieutenants George Farquharson, Hugh M'Pherson, William Baillie and John Sutherland; Ensigns Patrick Stewart, brother of Bonskeid, and George Rattray. The wounded were Captains Gordon Graham, Thomas Graham of Duchray, John Campbell of Strachur, James Stewart of Urrard, James Murray (afterward general); Lieutenants James Grant, Robert Gray, John Campbell, William Grant, John Graham, brother of Duchray, Alexander Campbell, Alexander Mackintosh, Archibald Campbell, David Miller, Patrick Balneaves; and Ensigns John Smith and Peter Grant.

The intrepid conduct of the Highlanders on this occasion was made the topic of universal panegyric in Great Britain, and the public prints teemed with honourable testimonies to their bravery. If anything could add to the gratification they received from the approbation of their country, nothing was better calculated to enhance it than the handsome way in which their services were appreciated by their companions in arms. "With a

mixture of esteem, grief, and envy," says an officer of the 55th, "I consider the great loss and immortal glory acquired by the Scots Highlanders in the late bloody affair. Impatient for orders, they rushed forward to the entrenchments, which many of them actually mounted. They appeared like lions breaking from their chains. Their intrepidity was rather animated than damped by seeing their comrades fall on every side. I have only to say of them, that they seemed more anxious to revenge the cause of their deceased friends, than careful to avoid the same fate. By their assistance, we expect soon to give a good account of the enemy and of ourselves. There is much harmony and friendship between us." The following extract of a letter from Lieutenant William Grant, an officer of the regiment, seems to contain no exaggerated detail: — "The attack began a little past one in the afternoon, and about two the fire became general on both sides, which was exceedingly heavy, and without any intermission, insomuch that the oldest soldier present never saw so furious and incessant a fire. The affair at Fontenoy was nothing to it. I saw both. We laboured under insurmountable difficulties. The enemy's breast-work was about nine or ten feet high, upon the top of which they had plenty of wall-pieces fixed, and which was well lined in the inside with small arms. But the difficult access to their lines was what gave them a fatal advantage over us. They took care to cut down monstrous large oak trees which covered all the ground from the foot of their breast-work about the distance of a cannon-shot every way in their front. This not only broke our ranks, and made it impossible for us to keep our order, but put it entirely out of our power to advance till we cut our way through. I have seen men behave with courage and resolution before now, but so much determined bravery can hardly

be equalled in any part of the history of ancient Rome. Even those that were mortally wounded cried aloud to their companions, not to mind or lose a thought upon them, but to follow their officers, and to mind the honour of their country. Nay, their ardour was such, that it was difficult to bring them off. They paid dearly for their intrepidity. The remains of the regiment had the honour to cover the retreat of the army, and brought off the wounded as we did at Fontenoy. When shall we have so fine a regiment again? I hope we shall be allowed to recruit." Lieutenant Grant's wish had been anticipated, as letters of service had been issued, before the affair of Ticonderoga was known in England, for raising a second battalion, besides an order to make the regiment royal, "as a testimony of his Majesty's satisfaction and approbation of the extraordinary courage, loyalty, and exemplary conduct of the Highland regiment."

So successful were the officers in recruiting, that within three months seven companies, each 120 men strong, which, with the three additional companies raised the preceding year, were to form the second battalion, were raised in three months, and embodied at Perth in October, 1758. The officers appointed to these seven additional companies were Francis M'Lean Alexander Sinclair, John Stewart of Stenton, William Murray, son of Lintrose, Archibald Campbell, Alexander Reid, and Robert Arbuthnot, to be captains; Alexander M'Lean, George Grant, George Sinclair, Gordon Clunes, Adam Stewart, John Robertson, son of Lude, John Grant, James Fraser, George Leslie, John Campbell, Alexander Stewart, Duncan Richardson, and Robert Robertson, to be lieutenants; and Patrick Sinclair, John M'Intosh, James M'Duff, Thomas Fletcher, Alexander Donaldson, William M'Lean, and William Brown, to be ensigns.

Government having resolved to employ the seven new

companies in an expedition against Martinique and Guadaloupe, two hundred of the men, on being embodied, were immediately embarked at Greenock for the West Indies, under the convoy of the *Ludlow Castle,* for the purpose of joining the armament lying in Carlisle bay, destined for that service. The whole land force employed in this expedition amounted to 5,560 men, under the command of Major-Generals Hopson and Barrington, and of Brigadier-Generals Armiger, Haldane, Trapand, and Clavering. They sailed from Barbadoes on the thirteenth of January, 1759, for Martinique, which they descried next morning; and on the following day the British squadron entered the great bay of Port Royal. About this time the other division of the seven newly raised companies joined the expedition. On the sixteenth, three ships of the line attacked Fort Negro, the guns of which they soon silenced. A detachment of marines and sailors landing in flat-bottomed boats, clambered up the rock, and, entering through the embrasures with fixed bayonets, took possession of the fort, which had been abandoned by the enemy. The whole French troops retired to Port Royal, leaving the beach open, so that the British forces landed next morning at Cas de Navire without opposition. No enemy being in sight, the grenadiers, the 4th or king's regiment, and the Highlanders, moved forward about ten o'clock to reconnoitre; but they had not proceeded far when they fell in with parties of the enemy, who retired on their approach. When within a short distance of Morne Tortueson, an eminence that overlooked the town and citadel of Port Royal, and the most important post in the island, the advanced party halted till the rest of the army came up. The advancing and retiring parties had kept up an irregular fire when in motion, and they still continued to skirmish. It was observed on

this occasion, "that although debarred the use of arms in their own country, the Highlanders showed themselves good marksmen, and had not forgot how to handle their arms." The inhabitants of Martinique were in the greatest alarm, and some of the principal among them were about sending deputies to the British commander to treat for a surrender, but General Hopson relieved them from their anxiety by reëmbarking his troops in the evening. The chief reason for abandoning the enterprise was the alleged impracticability of getting up the heavy cannon. The British had one officer killed and two wounded, one of whom was Lieutenant Leslie of the Royal Highlanders. Sixty privates were killed and wounded.

In a political point of view, the possession of Martinique was an object of greater importance than Guadaloupe, as it afforded, from its spacious harbour, a secure retreat to the enemy's fleets. By taking possession of St. Pierre, the whole island might have been speedily reduced; and the British commanders proceeded to that part of the island with that view; but alarmed lest they might sustain considerable loss by its capture, which might thus cripple their future operations, they absurdly relinquished their design, and proceeded to Guadaloupe. On the expedition reaching the western division of the island, it was resolved to make a general attack by sea upon the citadel, the town, and the batteries by which it was defended. Accordingly, on the twentieth of January, three line-of-battle ships formed in a line opposite the town of Basseterre, and at nine o'clock in the morning opened a tremendous fire on the town and batteries, which was returned and kept up on both sides with great vivacity for many hours. About five o'clock in the evening the fire of the citadel slackened. In the course of the afternoon the *Rippon*, of seventy-four guns, ran

aground, and would probably have been destroyed, had not Captain Leslie of the *Bristol*, coming in from sea, run in between the *Rippon* and the batteries, and, by silencing their fire, enabled the *Rippon* to get off. At seven in the evening, all the other large ships having silenced the guns to which they had been respectively opposed, joined the rest of the fleet. Four bombs were then anchored near the shore, which threw shells into the town, in consequence of which several houses were soon set on fire, and about ten o'clock at night the place was in a general conflagration.

The troops landed at five o'clock in the evening of the following day without opposition, and took possession of the town and citadel, which they found entirely abandoned. The Chevalier D'Etreil, the governor of the island, taking shelter among the mountains, yielded the honour of continuing the contest to a lady of masculine courage named Ducharmey. Arming her slaves, whom she headed in person, she made several bold attempts upon an advanced post on a hill near the town, occupied by Major (afterward general) Melville, opposite to which she threw up some entrenchments. Annoyed by the incessant attacks of this Amazon, Major Melville attacked her entrenchments, which he carried, after an obstinate resistance. Madame Ducharmey escaped with difficulty, but some of her female companions in arms were taken prisoners. Ten of her people were killed and many wounded. Of the British detachment, twelve were slain and thirty wounded, including two subaltern officers, one of whom, Lieutenant M'Lean of the Highlanders, lost an arm.

Finding it impracticable to carry on a campaign among the mountains of Basseterre, the general resolved to transfer the seat of war to the eastern division of the island, called Grandeterre, which was more accessible.

Accordingly, on the tenth of February, a detachment of Highlanders and marines was landed in that part of the island in the neighbourhood of Fort Louis, after a severe cannonading which lasted six hours. The assailants, sword in hand, drove the enemy from their entrenchments, and, taking possession of the fort, hoisted the English colours.

General Hopson died on the twenty-seventh. He was succeeded by General Barrington, who resolved to complete the reduction of the island with vigour. Leaving, therefore, one regiment and a detachment of artillery under Colonel Debrisay in Basseterre, the general re-embarked the rest of the army and proceeded to Grande-terre. On the departure of Barrington, the enemy descended from the hills, and endeavoured to take possession of the town; but they were repulsed in every attempt by the small garrison. In one of these attacks a powder magazine unfortunately exploded, in which explosion Colonel Debrisay, together with two other officers and some soldiers, perished.

Meanwhile General Barrington was carrying on a series of successful operations in Grandeterre, by means of detachments. One of these, consisting of six hundred men, under Colonel Crump, carried the towns of St. Anne and St. Francis with little loss, notwithstanding the fire from the entrenchments. The only officer who fell was Ensign M'Lean of the Highlanders. Another detachment of three hundred men took the town of Gosier by storm, and drove the garrison into the woods. The next operation of the general was an attempt to surprise the three towns of Petit Bourg, St. Mary's, and Gouyave, on the Capesterre side, the execution of which was committed to Colonels Crump and Clavering; but, owing to the extreme darkness of the night, and the incapacity of the negro guides, the attempt was rendered

abortive. Resolved to carry these towns, the general directed the same commanders to land their forces in a bay near the town of Arnonville. No opposition was made to their landing by the enemy, who retreated behind a strong entrenchment they had thrown up behind the River Licorn. With the exception of two narrow passes which they had fortified with a redoubt and entrenchments mounted with cannon, which were defended by a large body of militia, the access to the river was rendered inaccessible by a morass covered with mangroves; yet, in spite of these difficulties, the British commanders resolved to hazard an assault. Accordingly, under cover of a fire from the entrenchments from their field-pieces and howitzers, the regiment of Duroure and the Highlanders moved forward, firing by platoons with the utmost regularity as they advanced. Observing the enemy beginning to abandon the first entrenchment on the left, "the Highlanders drew their swords, and, supported by a part of the other regiment, rushed forward with their characteristic impetuosity, and followed the enemy into the redoubt, of which they took possession."

Several other actions of minor importance afterward took place, in which the enemy were uniformly worsted; and seeing resistance hopeless, they capitulated on the first of May, after an arduous struggle of nearly three months. The only Highland officer killed in this expedition was Ensign M'Lean. Lieutenants M'Lean, Leslie, Sinclair, and Robertson were wounded; and Major Anstruther and Captain Arbuthnot died of the fever. One hundred and six privates of the Royal Highlanders were killed, wounded, or died of disease.

After the reduction of Guadaloupe, the services of the second battalion of Royal Highlanders were transferred to North America, where they arrived early in July, and

after reaching the headquarters of the British army, were combined with the first battalion. About this time a series of combined operations had been projected against the French settlements in Canada. Whilst Major-General Wolfe, who had given proofs of great military talents at the siege of Louisburg, was to proceed up the St. Lawrence and besiege Quebec, General Amherst, who had succeeded General Abercromby as commander-in-chief, was to attempt the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, after which he was to cross Lake Champlain and effect a junction with General Wolfe before Quebec. Brigadier-General Prideaux was to proceed against the French fort near the falls of the Niagara, the most important post of all French America. The army under General Amherst, which was the first put in motion, assembled at Fort Edward on the nineteenth of June. It included the 42d regiment and Montgomery's Highlanders, and when afterward joined by the second battalion of the Royal Highlanders, it amounted to 14,500 men. Preceded by the first battalion of the 42d, and the light infantry, the main body of the army moved forward on the twenty-first, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Ticonderoga. The enemy seemed at first resolved to defend that important fortress; but perceiving the formidable preparations made by the English general for a siege, they abandoned the fort, after having in part dismantled the fortifications, and retired to Crown Point.

On taking possession of this important post, which effectually covered the frontiers of New York, General Amherst proceeded to repair the fortifications; and, while these were going on, he directed batteaux and other vessels to be prepared, to enable him to obtain the command of the lakes. Meanwhile the enemy, who seem to have had no intention of hazarding an action,

evacuated Crown Point, and retired to Isle aux Noix, on the northern extremity of Lake Champlain. Detaching a body of rangers to take possession of the place, the general embarked the rest of the army and landed at the fort on the fourth of August, where he encamped. The general then ordered up the second battalion of the Royal Highlanders from Oswego, with the exception of 150 men under Captain James Stewart, who were left to guard that post. Having by great exertions acquired a naval superiority on Lake Champlain, the general embarked his army in furtherance of his original plan of descending the St. Lawrence, and coöperating with General Wolfe in the reduction of Quebec; but in consequence of contrary winds, the tempestuous state of the weather, and the early setting in of winter, he was compelled to abandon further prosecution of active operations in the meantime. He then returned to Crown Point to winter. A detail of the important enterprise against Quebec will be found in the history of Fraser's Highlanders.

After the fall of the fort of Niagara, which was taken by Prideaux's division, and the conquest of Quebec, Montreal was the only place of strength which remained in possession of the French in Canada. General Murray was ordered to proceed up the St. Lawrence to attack Montreal, and General Amherst, as soon as the season permitted, made arrangements to join him. After his preparations were completed, he ordered Colonel Haviland, with a detachment of troops, to take possession of the Isle aux Noix, and thence to proceed to the banks of the St. Lawrence by the nearest route. To facilitate the passage of the armed vessels to La Galette, Colonel Haldimand with the grenadiers, light infantry, and a battalion of the Royal Highlanders took post at the bottom of the lake. Embarking the whole of his army

on the tenth of August, he proceeded towards the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and, after a dangerous navigation, in the course of which several boats were upset and about eighty men drowned, landed six miles above Montreal on the sixth of September. General Murray appeared before Montreal on the evening of the same day, and the detachments under Colonel Haviland came down the following day on the south side of the river. Thus beset by three armies, who, by a singular combination, had united almost at the same instant of time, after traversing a great extent of unknown country, Monsieur Vandreuil, the governor, seeing resistance hopeless, surrendered upon favourable terms. Thus ended a series of successful operations, which secured Canada to the crown of Great Britain.

The Royal Highlanders remained in North America until the close of the year 1761, when they were embarked along with ten other regiments, among whom was Montgomery's Highlanders, for Barbadoes, there to join an armament against Martinique and the Havannah. The land forces consisted altogether of eighteen regiments, under the command of Major-General Monckton. The naval part of the expedition, which was commanded by Rear-Admiral Rodney, consisted of eighteen sail of the line, besides frigates, bomb-vessels, and fire-ships.

The fleet anchored in St. Ann's Bay, Martinique, on the eighth of January, 1762, when the bulk of the army immediately landed. A detachment under Brigadiers Grant (Ballindalloch) and Haviland, made a descent without opposition in the Bay of Ance Darlet. Re-embarking his troops, General Monckton landed his whole army on the sixteenth near Cas de Navire, under Morne Tortueson and Morne Garnier. As these two eminences commanded the town and citadel of Fort

Royal, and were their chief defence, great care had been taken to improve by art their natural strength, which, from the very deep ravines, which protected them, was great. The general having resolved to attack Morne Tortueson first, he ordered a body of troops and eight hundred marines to advance on the right along the sea-side towards the town, for the purpose of attacking two redoubts near the beach, and to support this movement, he at same time directed some flat bottomed boats, each carrying a gun, and manned with sailors, to follow close along the shore. A corps of light infantry was to get round the enemy's left, whilst, under the cover of the fire of some batteries which had been raised on the opposite ridges by the perseverance of some sailors from the fleet, who had dragged the cannon to the summit of these almost perpendicular heights, the attack on the centre was to be made by the grenadiers and Highlanders supported by the main body of the army. After an arduous contest the enemy were driven from the Morne Tortueson; but a more difficult operation still remained to be performed. This was to gain possession of the other eminence, from which, owing to its greater height, the enemy annoyed the British troops. Preparations were made for carrying this post; but before they were completed the enemy descended from the hill and attacked the advanced posts of the British. This attempt was fatal to the assailants, who were instantly repulsed. "When they began to retire, the Highlanders, drawing their swords, rushed forward like furies, and being supported by the grenadiers under Colonel Grant (Ballindalloch), and a party of Lord Rollo's brigade, the hills were mounted, and the batteries seized, and numbers of the enemy, unable to escape from the rapidity of the attack, were taken." The militia dispersed themselves over the country, but the regulars

retired into the town, which surrendered on the seventh of February. The whole island immediately submitted, and in terms of the capitulation all the windward islands were delivered up to the British.

In this enterprise the Royal Highlanders had two officers, viz., Captain William Cockburn and Lieutenant David Barclay, one sergeant and twelve rank and file killed. Major John Reid, Captains James Murray and Thomas Stirling; Lieutenants Alexander Mackintosh, David Milne, Patrick Balneaves, Alexander Turnbull, John Robertson, Wm. Brown, and George Leslie; three sergeants, one drummer, and seventy-two rank and file were wounded.

The Royal and Montgomery's Highlanders were employed the following year in the important conquest of the Havannah, under Lieutenant-General, the Earl of Albermarle, in which they sustained very little loss. That of the two battalions of the 42d consisted only of two drummers and six privates killed, and four privates wounded; but they lost by disease Major Macneil, Captain Robert Menzies, brother of the late Sir John Menzies, and A. Macdonald; Lieutenants Farquharson, Grant, Lapsley, Cunnison, Hill and Blair, and two drummers, and seventy-one rank and file.

Shortly after the surrender of the Havannah, all the disposable forces in Cuba were removed from the island. The first battalion of the 42d and Montgomery's regiment embarked for New York, which they reached in the end of October. Before leaving Cuba all the men of the second battalion of the Royal Highlanders fit for service were drafted into the first. The remainder with the officers returned to Scotland, where they were reduced the following year. The junior officers were placed on half pay.

The Royal Highlanders were stationed in Albany till

the summer of 1763, when they were sent to the relief of Fort Pitt, then besieged by the Indians. The management of this enterprise was entrusted to Colonel Bouquet of the 60th regiment, who, in addition to the 42d, had under his command a detachment of his own regiment and another of Montgomery's Highlanders, amounting in whole to 956 men. This body reached Bushy Run about the end of July. When about to enter a narrow pass beyond the Run, the advanced guards were suddenly attacked by the Indians, who had planned an ambuscade. The light infantry of the 42d regiment moved forward to the support of the advanced guard, and driving the Indians from the ambuscade, pursued them a considerable distance. The Indians returned and took possession of some neighbouring heights. They were again compelled to retire; but they soon reappeared on another position, and continuing to increase in numbers, they succeeded in surrounding the detachment, which they attacked on every side. Night put an end to the combat; but it was renewed next morning with increased vigour by the Indians, who kept up an incessant fire. They, however, avoided coming to close action, and the troops could not venture to pursue them far, as they were encumbered with a convoy of provisions, and were afraid to leave their wounded lest they might fall into the hands of the enemy. Recourse was, therefore, had to stratagem to bring the Indians to closer action. Feigning a retreat, Colonel Bouquet ordered two companies which were in advance to retire, and fall within a square which had been formed, which, as if preparing to cover a retreat, opened its files. The stratagem succeeded. Assuring themselves of victory, the Indians rushed forward with great impetuosity, and whilst they were vigorously charged in front, two companies, moving suddenly round a hill which concealed

their approach, attacked them in flank. The assailants, in great consternation, turned their backs and fled, and Colonel Bouquet was allowed to proceed to Fort Pitt without further molestation. In this affair, the loss sustained by the Royal Highlanders was as follows: viz., Lieutenants John Graham and James Mackintosh, one sergeant, and twenty-six rank and file, killed; and Captain John Graham of Duchray, Lieutenant Duncan Campbell, two sergeants, two drummers, and thirty rank and file, wounded.

After passing the winter in Fort Pitt, eight companies of the Royal Highlanders were sent on a new enterprise in the summer of 1764, under Colonel Bouquet, now promoted to the rank of brigadier-general. The object of this expedition was to repress the attacks of the Indians on the back-settlers. After a harassing warfare among the woods, the Indians sued for peace, which was accordingly granted, and the detachment under Brigadier-General Bouquet returned to Fort Pitt in the month of January, after an absence of six months. Notwithstanding the labours of a march of many hundred miles among dense forests, during which they experienced the extremes of heat and cold, the Highlanders did not lose a single man from fatigue or exhaustion.

The regiment passed the following year in Pennsylvania. Being ordered home, permission was given to such of the men as were desirous of remaining in America to volunteer into other regiments, and the result was, that a considerable number availed themselves of the offer. The regiment, reduced almost to a skeleton, embarked at Philadelphia for Ireland in the month of July, 1767.

The following extract from the *Virginia Gazette* of the thirtieth of that month, shows the estimation in which

the Highlanders were held by the Americans: — "Last Sunday evening the Royal Highland regiment embarked for Ireland, which regiment, since its arrival in America, has been distinguished for having undergone most amazing fatigues, made long and frequent marches through an inhospitable country, bearing excessive heat and severe cold with alacrity and cheerfulness, frequently encamping in deep snow, such as those that inhabit the interior parts of this province do not see, and which only those who inhabit the northern parts of Europe can have any idea of, continually exposed in camp, and on their marches, to the alarms of a savage enemy, who, in all their attempts, were forced to fly. . . . In a particular manner, the freemen of this and the neighbouring provinces have most sincerely to thank them for that resolution and bravery with which they, under Colonel Bouquet, and a small number of Royal Americans, defeated the enemy, and ensured to us peace and security from a savage foe; and, along with our blessings for these benefits, they have our thanks for that decorum in behaviour which they maintained during their stay in this city, giving an example that the most amiable behaviour in civil life is no way inconsistent with the character of the good soldier; and for their loyalty, fidelity, and orderly behaviour, they have every wish of the people for health, honour, and a pleasant voyage."

The loss sustained by the regiment during the seven years it was employed in North America and the West Indies was as follows: —

		KILLED.
In	Officers	13
	Sergeants	12
	Rank and File	382
	Total	407

		WOUNDED.
In	Officers	33
	Sergeants	22
	Rank and File	508
	Total	563
	Grand Total	970

With the exception of the unfortunate affair at Ticonderoga, the loss sustained by the 42d in the field during this war was comparatively smaller than that of any other corps. The moderate loss the Highlanders suffered was accounted for, by several officers who served in the corps, from the celerity of their attack and the use of the broadsword, which the enemy could never withstand. "This likewise," says General Stewart, "was the opinion of an old gentleman, one of the original soldiers of the Black Watch, in the ranks of which, although a gentleman by birth and education, he served till the peace of 1748. He informed me, that although it was believed at home that the regiment had been nearly destroyed at Fontenoy, the thing was quite the reverse; and that it was the subject of general observation in the army, that their loss should have been so small, considering how actively they were engaged in different parts of the field. 'On one occasion,' said the respectable veteran, who was animated with the subject, 'a brigade of Dutch were ordered to attack a rising ground, on which were posted the troops called the King of France's own guards. The Highlanders were to support them. The Dutch conducted their march and attack as if they did not know the road, halting and firing, and halting every twenty paces. The Highlanders, losing all patience with this kind of fighting, which gave the enemy such time and opportunity to fire at their leisure, dashed forward, passed the Dutch, and the first ranks giving their fire-

locks to the rear rank, they drew their swords, and soon drove the French from their ground. When the attack was concluded, it was found that of the Highlanders not above a dozen men were killed and wounded, while the Dutch, who had not come up at all, lost more than five times that number.' "

On the arrival of the regiment at Cork, recruiting parties were sent to the Highlands, and so desirous were the Highland youth to enter the corps, that in May following the regiment was completed to the then establishment.[6] At the time the battle of Fontenoy was fought there was not a soldier in the regiment born south of the Grampians, and at this period they were all, except two, born north of the Tay.

At the period of their arrival in Ireland, the uniform of the regiment had a very sombre appearance. "The jackets were of a dull rusty-coloured red, and no part of the accoutrements was of a light colour. Economy was strictly observed in the article of clothing. The old jacket, after being worn a year, was converted into a waistcoat, and the plaid, at the end of two years, was reduced to the philibeg. The hose supplied were of so bad a quality, that the men advanced an additional sum to the government price, in order to supply themselves with a better sort. Instead of feathers for their bonnets, they were allowed only a piece of black bear-skin; but the men supplied themselves with ostrich feathers in the modern fashion, and spared no expense in fitting up their bonnets handsomely. The sword-belts were of black leather, two inches and a half in breadth; and a small cartouch-box, fitted only for thirty-two rounds of cartridges, was worn in front above the purse, and fixed round the loins with a thick belt, in which hung the bayonet. In these heavy colours and dark-blue facings, the regiment had a far less splendid

appearance at a short distance than English regiments with white breeches and belts; but on a closer view the line was imposing and warlike. The men possessed what an ingenious author calls 'the attractive beauties of a soldier; sunburnt complexions, a hardy weatherbeaten visage, with a penetrating eye, and firm expressive countenance, sinewy and elastic limbs, traces of muscles strongly impressed, indicating capacity of action, and marking experience of service.' The personal appearance of the men has, no doubt, varied according as attention was paid to a proper selection of recruits. The appointments have also been different. The first alteration in this respect was made in the year 1769, when the regiment removed to Dublin. At this period the men received white cloth waistcoats, and the colonel supplied them with white goat-skin and buff leather purses, which were deemed an improvement on the vests of red cloth, and the purses made of badgers' skin.

"The officers also improved their dress, by having their jackets embroidered. During the war, however, they wore only a narrow edging of gold-lace round the borders of the facings, and very often no lace at all, epaulettes and all glittering ornaments being laid aside, to render them less conspicuous to the Indians, who always aimed particularly at the officers. During their stay in Ireland, the dress of the men underwent very little alteration. The officers had only one suit of embroidery; this fashion being found too expensive was given up, and gold-lace substituted in its stead. Upon ordinary occasions they wore light hangers, using the basket-hilted broadsword only in full dress. They also carried fusils. The sergeants were furnished with carbines instead of the Lochaber axe or halbert, which they formerly carried. The soldiers were provided with new arms when on Dublin duty in 1774. The sergeants had

silver-lace on their coats, which they furnished, however, at their own expense."

The regiment remained in Ireland after its return from North America about eight years, in the course of which it was occasionally occupied in different parts of that country in aid of the civil power, — a service in which, from their conciliatory disposition, they were found very useful. While in Ireland a new company was added, as was the case with all the other regiments on the Irish establishment. Captain James Macpherson, Lieutenant Campbell, and Ensign John Grant were in consequence appointed to the 42d.

In 1775 the regiment embarked at Donaghadee, and landed at Port Patrick, after an absence from Scotland of thirty-two years. Impelled by characteristic attachment to the country of their birth, many of the old soldiers leaped on shore with enthusiasm, and kissed the earth which they held up in handfuls. From Port Patrick the regiment marched to Glasgow.

The conduct of the regiment, and its mode of discipline while in Ireland, is thus depicted by an intelligent officer who served in it at that time, and for many years both before and after that period, in a communication to General Stewart. He describes the regiment as still possessing the character which it had acquired in Germany and America, although there were not more than eighty of the men remaining who had served in America, and only a few individuals of those who had served in Germany previously to the year 1748. Their attachment to their native dress, and their peculiarity of language, habits and manners, contributed to preserve them a race of men separate from others of the same profession, and to give to their system of regimental discipline a distinctive and peculiar character. Their messes were managed by the non-commissioned officers, or old sol-

diers, who had charge of the barrack-room; and these messes were always so arranged, that, in each room, the men were in friendship or intimacy with each other, or belonged to the same glen or district, or were connected by some similar tie. By these means every barrack-room was like a family establishment. After the weekly allowances for breakfast, dinner, and small necessaries had been provided, the surplus pay was deposited in a stock purse, each member of the mess drawing for it in his turn. The stock thus acquired was soon found worth preserving, and instead of hoarding, they lent it out to the inhabitants, who seemed greatly surprised at seeing a soldier save money. Their accounts with their officers were settled once in three months, and, with the exception of a few careless spendthrifts, all the men purchased their own necessaries, with which they were always abundantly provided. At every settlement of accounts they enjoyed themselves very heartily, but with a strict observance of propriety and good humour; and as the members of each mess considered themselves in a manner answerable for one another's conduct, they animadverted on any impropriety with such severity, as to render the interference of farther authority unnecessary.

Shortly after the arrival of the regiment in Glasgow, two companies were added, and the establishment of the whole regiment augmented to one hundred rank and file each company. The battalion, when complete, amounted to 1,075 men, including sergeants and drummers. Little inducement was required to fill the ranks, as men were always to be found ready to join a corps in such high estimation. At this time the bounty was a guinea and a crown. It was afterward increased to three guineas; but this advance had little effect in the north where the *esprit de corps* had greater influence than gold.

Hitherto the officers had been entirely Highland and Scotch; but the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, contrary to the remonstrances of Lord John Murray, who saw the advantage of officering the regiment with natives of Scotland, prevailed with the government to admit two English officers into the regiment. His excellency even went so far as to get two lieutenants' commissions in favour of Scotchmen cancelled, although they had been gazetted.

In consequence of hostilities with America, the regiment was ordered to embark for that country. Before its departure the recruits were taught the use of the firelock, and from the shortness of the time allowed, were drilled even by candle-light. New arms and accoutrements were supplied to the men by the government, and the colonel furnished them with broadswords and pistols, iron-stocked, at his own expense. The regiment was reviewed on the tenth of April, 1776, by General Sir Adolphus Oughton, and being reported quite complete and unexceptionable, embarked on the fourteenth at Greenock along with Fraser's Highlanders.

CHAPTER II

THE FORTY-SECOND IN AMERICA

In conjunction with Fraser's Highlanders, the 42d embarked at Greenock on the fourteenth of April, 1776, to join an expedition under General Howe against the American revolutionists. The transports separated in a gale of wind; but they all reached their destination in Staten Island, where the main body of the army had assembled. A grenadier battalion was immediately formed under the command of the Hon. Major (afterward General) Sir Charles Stewart, the staff appointments to which, out of respect to the 42d, were taken by the commander-in-chief from that regiment. A light infantry corps was also formed, to the command of which Lieutenant-Colonel Musgrave was appointed. The flank companies of the 42d were attached to these battalions. "The Highland grenadiers were remarkable for strength and height, and considered equal to any company in the army. The light infantry were quite the reverse in point of personal appearance, as the commanding officer would not allow a choice of men for them. The battalion companies were formed into two temporary battalions, the command of one being given to Major William Murray (Lintrose), and that of the other to Major William Grant (Rothiemurchus) with an adjutant quartermaster in each battalion; the whole being under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Stirling. These grenadiers were placed in the reserve with the grenadiers of the army, under the command of

Earl Cornwallis. To these was added the 33d, his lordship's own regiment."

The whole of the British force under the command of Sir William Howe, including thirteen thousand Hessians and Waldeckers, amounted to thirty thousand men. The campaign opened by a landing on Long Island on the twenty-second of August, 1776. The whole army encamped in front of the villages of Gravesend and Utrecht. The American army, under General Putnam, was encamped at Brooklyn, a few miles distant. A range of woody hills, which intersected the country from east to west, divided the two armies.

The British general having resolved to attack the enemy in three divisions, the right wing under General Clinton seized, on the twenty-sixth of August, at nightfall, a pass on the heights, about three miles from Bedford. The main body then passed through, and descended to the level country which lay between the hills and General Putnam's lines. Whilst this movement was going on, Major-General Grant (Ballindalloch) with his brigade (the 4th) supported by the Royal Highlanders from the reserve, was directed to march from the left along the coast to the Narrows, and attack the enemy in that quarter. The right wing, having reached Bedford at nine o'clock next morning, attacked the left of the American army, which, after a short resistance, retired to their lines in great confusion pursued by the British troops, Colonel Stuart leading with his battalion of Highland grenadiers. The Hessians who had remained at Flat Bush, on hearing the fire at Bedford, advanced, and, attacking the centre of the American army, drove them, after a short engagement, through the woods, and captured three pieces of cannon. General Grant had previously attacked the right of the enemy, and a cannonade had been kept up near the Narrows on both sides

till the Americans heard the firing at Bedford, when they retreated in disorder. Notwithstanding these advantages, neither General Howe nor General Grant ventured to follow them up by pursuing the enemy, and attacking them in their lines, although they could have made no effectual resistance. The enemy lost two thousand men, killed, drowned, and taken prisoners. The British had five officers, and fifty-six non-commissioned officers and privates, killed; and twelve officers, and 245 non-commissioned officers and privates wounded. Among the latter was Lieutenant Crammond and nine rank and file of the 42d.

About this time the broadswords and pistols which the men received in Glasgow were ordered to be laid aside. The pistols being considered unnecessary, except in the field, were not intended like the swords to be worn by the men in quarters. The reason for discontinuing the broadswords was that they retarded the men by getting entangled in the brushwood. "Admitting that the objection was well-founded, so far as regarded the swords, it certainly could not apply to the pistols. In a close woody country, where troops are liable to sudden attacks and surprises by a hidden enemy, such a weapon is peculiarly useful. It is, therefore, difficult to discover a good reason for laying them aside. Neither does there appear to have been any objection to the resumption of the broadsword when the service alluded to terminated. The marches through the woods of Long Island were only a few miles; whereas, we have seen that the two battalions of the 42d, and Fraser's, and Montgomery's Highlanders, in the seven years' war, carried the broadsword on all their marches, through woods and forests of many hundred miles in extent. In the same manner the swords were carried in Martinique and Guadaloupe, islands intersected with deep

ravines, and covered with woods no less impervious than the thickest and closest woods of America. But, on that service, the broadsword, far from being complained of as an encumbrance, was, on many occasions, of the greatest efficacy, when a decisive blow was to be struck, and the enemy were to be overpowered by an attack hand to hand. I have been told by several old officers and soldiers, who bore a part in these attacks, that an enemy who stood for many hours the fire of musketry invariably gave way when an advance was made sword in hand. It is to be regretted that a weapon, which the Highlanders could use so well, should, together with the pistol, which is peculiarly serviceable in close woody countries, have been taken from the soldiers, and after the expense of purchase had been incurred, sent to rust and spoil in a store. They were never restored, and the regiment has had neither swords nor pistols since. It has been said that the broadsword is not a weapon to contend with the bayonet. Certainly, to all appearance, it is not, yet facts do not warrant the superiority of the latter weapon. From the battle of Culloden, where a body of undisciplined Highlanders, shepherds and herdsmen with their broadswords, cut their way through some of the best disciplined and most approved regiments in the British army (drawn up, too, on a field extremely favourable for regular troops), down till the time when the swords were taken from the Highlanders, the bayonet was in every instance overcome by the sword."

The army encamped in front of the enemy's lines in the evening of the twenty-seventh of August, and next day broke ground opposite their left redoubt. General Washington had crossed over from New York during the action at Brooklyn, and seeing resistance hopeless, resolved to retreat. With surprising skill he trans-

ported nine thousand men with guns, ammunition, and stores, in the course of one night, over to New York; and such was the secrecy with which this movement was effected, that the British army knew nothing of it till next morning, when the last of the rear-guard were seen in their boats crossing the broad ferry and out of danger.

Active operations were not resumed till the fifteenth of September, when the reserve, including the Royal Highlanders, crossed over to New York, and, after some opposition, took possession of the heights above the town. The Highlanders and Hessians fell in with and captured a body of New England men and Virginians. Next day the light infantry were sent out to dislodge a party of the enemy from a wood opposite the British left. A smart action ensued, and, the enemy pushing forward reinforcements, the Highlanders were sent to support the light infantry. The Americans were then driven back to their entrenchments; but they renewed the attack with an increased force, and were again repulsed with considerable loss. The British had fourteen men killed, and five officers and seventy men wounded. The 42d had one sergeant and five privates killed; and Captains Duncan Macpherson and John Mackintosh, and Ensign Alexander Mackenzie (who died of his wounds), and one piper, two drummers, and forty-seven privates wounded.

General Howe, in expectation of an attack, threw up entrenchments; but General Washington, having no such intention, made a general movement, and took up a strong position on the heights in the rear of the White Plains. To induce the enemy to quit their ground, General Howe resolved to make a movement, and accordingly embarked his army on the twelfth of October in flat-bottomed boats, and, passing through the intricate narrow called Hell Gate, disembarked the same evening

at Frogsneck, near West Chester. In consequence of the bridge which connected the latter place with the mainland having been broken down by the enemy, the general reëmbarked his troops next day, and landed at Pell's Point at the mouth of Hudson's River. On the fourteenth he reached the White Plains in front of the enemy's position. As a preliminary to a general engagement, General Howe attacked a post on a rising ground occupied by four thousand of the enemy, which he carried; but General Washington declining battle, the British general gave up the attempt, and proceeded against Fort Washington, the possession of which was necessary in order to open the communication between New York and the continent, to the eastward and northward of Hudson's River. The fort, the garrison of which consisted of three thousand men, was protected by strong grounds covered with lines and works. The Hessians, under General Knyphausen, supported by the whole of the reserve, under Major-General Earl Percy, with the exception of the 42d, who were to make a feint on the east side of the fort, were to make the principal attack. The Royal Highlanders embarked in boats on the sixteenth of November, before daybreak, and landed in a small creek at the foot of the rock, in the face of a smart fire. The Highlanders had now discharged the duty assigned them, but determined to have a full share in the honour of the day, they resolved upon an assault, and assisted by each other, and by the brushwood and shrubs which grew out of the crevices of the rocks, scrambled up the precipice. On gaining the summit, they rushed forward, and attacked the enemy with such rapidity, that upwards of two hundred, unable to escape, threw down their arms; whilst the Highlanders, following up their advantage, penetrated across the table of the hill, and met Lord Percy's brigade

as they were coming up on the opposite side. On seeing the Hessians approach in another direction, the enemy surrendered at discretion. In this affair the Royal Highlanders had one sergeant and ten privates killed; and Lieutenants Patrick Græme (Inchbrakie), Norman Macleod, and Alexander Grant, and four sergeants and sixty-six rank and file wounded.

To secure the entire command of the North River, and to open an easy entrance into the Jerseys, Fort Lee was next reduced, in which service the Royal Highlanders were employed. The enemy, pursued by the detachment which captured that post, retired successively to Newbridge, Elizabeth Town, Newark, and Brunswick. On the seventeenth of November General Howe entered Prince Town with the main body of the army, an hour after it was evacuated by General Washington. Winter having now set in, General Howe put his army into winter quarters. The advanced posts, which extended from Trenton to Mount-holly, were occupied by the Hessians and the Royal Highlanders, who were the only British regiments in front.

If, instead of suspending active operations, General Howe had continued occasionally to beat up the quarters of the Americans whilst dispirited by their late reverses, it is thought that he would have reduced them to the last extremity. General Washington availed himself of the inactivity of the British commander, and by making partial attacks on the advanced posts, he not only improved the discipline of his army, but, in consequence of the success which sometimes attended these attacks, revived the drooping spirits of his men. On the twenty-second of January, 1777, he surprised and completely defeated the detachment of Hessians stationed at Trenton; in consequence of which reverse, the Royal Highlanders, who formed the left of the line of defence at

Mount-holly, fell back on the light infantry at Prince Town.

On hearing of the defeat of the Hessians, Lord Cornwallis, who was at New York with the intention of embarking for England, returned to the army. To dislodge the Americans from Trenton, his lordship moved forward with the grenadiers, two brigades of the line, and the two Highland regiments. Considerable skirmishing took place in the advance, and on approaching Trenton he observed General Washington posted on some high ground beyond it. Both parties commenced a heavy cannonade, which, with occasional skirmishing between the advanced guards, was kept up till night. As it formed no part of General Washington's plans to hazard a general engagement, he decamped during the night, leaving large fires burning to deceive the British. He retreated towards Prince Town, and defeated a detachment of British under Colonel Mawhood, who was on his way from that place to join Lord Cornwallis.

During the remainder of the season the Royal Highlanders were stationed in the village of Pisquatua, on the line of communication between New York and Brunswick by Amboy. The duty was severe from the rigour of the season and the want of accommodation. The houses in the village not being sufficient to contain one half of the men, the officers and soldiers were intermixed in barns and sheds, and they always slept in their body-clothes, as the enemy were constantly sending down nocturnal parties to fire at the sentinels and piquets. The Americans, however, always kept at a respectful distance, and did not make any regular attack on the post till the tenth of May, on which day, at four o'clock in the afternoon, a body of two thousand men, under the command of Maxwell and Stephens, American generals, attempted to surprise the High-

landers. Advancing with great secrecy, and being completely covered by the rugged nature of the country, their approach was not perceived till they had gained a small level piece of ground in front of the piquets, when they rushed forward, and attacked them with such promptitude, that the piquets had hardly time to seize their arms. At this time the soldiers were either all employed in different avocations, or taking the rest they could not obtain at night; but the piquets, by disputing every inch of ground, gave time to the soldiers to assemble, who drove the enemy back with great precipitation, leaving behind them upwards of two hundred men in killed and wounded. On this occasion the 42d had three sergeants and nine privates killed; and Captain Duncan Macpherson, Lieutenant William Stewart, three sergeants, and thirty-five privates wounded.[7]

The British troops again took the field about the middle of June, when General Howe attempted to draw Washington from his station at Middle Brook; but the American commander knew too well the value of such a strong position to abandon it. Not judging it prudent to attack it, the British general resolved to change the seat of war. Pursuant to this resolution, he embarked thirty-six battalions of British and Hessians, including the flank battalions of the grenadiers and light infantry, and sailed for the Chesapeake. Before the embarkation the Royal Highlanders received an accession of 170 recruits from Scotland.

The army landed at Elk Ferry on the twenty-fourth of August, after a tedious voyage. It was not till the third of September that they began their march for Philadelphia. The delay enabled Washington to cross the country, and to take an advantageous position at Red Clay Creek, whence he pushed forward detachments

to harass the British troops on their march. General Howe did not reach the Brandy Wine River till the middle of September, in consequence of the difficulties he met with in traversing a country covered with wood and full of defiles. On reaching that river, he found that the enemy had taken up a strong position beyond it, with the view of opposing the farther advance of the royal army. The Americans had secured all the fording places, and in expectation that the British would attempt to cross at Chad's Ford, they had erected batteries and thrown up entrenchments at that place to command the passage. Making a circuit of some miles, Lord Cornwallis crossed Jeffrey's Ford, with one division of the army, without opposition, and turning down the river fell in with the American general, Sullivan, who had been detached by Washington to oppose him. An action took place, and the Americans were driven from all their posts through the woods towards the main army. Meanwhile General Knyphausen, with his division, made demonstrations for crossing the river at Chad's Ford, and as soon as he knew from the firing of cannon that Lord Cornwallis's movement had succeeded, he passed the river, and carried the batteries and entrenchments of the enemy. A general rout ensued, and General Washington, with the corps he was able to keep together, fled with his baggage and cannon to Chester. The British had fifty officers killed and wounded in the battle of Brandy Wine, and 438 rank and file, including non-commissioned officers. The flank companies of the 42d being the only ones engaged, had six privates killed, and one sergeant and fifteen privates wounded.

Had General Howe followed up this advantage by immediately pushing forward to Philadelphia next morning, he would probably have dispersed the remains of the American army; but, instead of pursuing the enemy, he

THE MACKENZIE
LOCH MAREE

remained contented with his success, and allowed the American commander to collect the scattered portions of his army, and to recruit it. Emboldened by the supineness of the British general, that cautious, yet bold and enterprising chief, ordered a select brigade of his light troops, under the command of General Wayne, to take post six miles in the rear of the British for the purpose of attacking them whilst passing the Schuylkill River, which they intended to ford at Valley Forge on the twenty-second of September. They were, however, surprised at midnight by a detachment under the Hon. Major Maitland, and the most of them were either bayonetted or taken prisoners. On the twenty-fifth, the army marched to German Town, and the following morning the grenadiers took peaceable possession of Philadelphia.

Having received considerable reinforcements, General Washington formed a design to surprise the British army at German Town. He arrived in the neighbourhood about three in the morning, and would probably have succeeded had not his progress been stopped by the intrepidity of Lieutenant-Colonel Musgrave, who, throwing himself into a large stone house with six companies of the 40th regiment, kept the Americans at bay till two brigades came up, who forced the Americans to retire. The loss sustained on both sides in this smart engagement was greater than in that of Brandy Wine. The Highlanders, being sent in a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Stirling to drive the enemy from a post at Billingspoint, were not present in this action.

No occurrence of any importance took place during the winter. Sir William Howe was recalled in May, 1778, and was succeeded in the chief command of the army by General Clinton. The new commander opened the summer campaign by the evacuation of Philadelphia. He

crossed the Delaware and reached Monmouth on the twenty-eighth of June, in the neighbourhood of which place the enemy were posted in considerable force. General Clinton's movements were much retarded by the extreme heat of the weather and a large convoy of provisions; and, to add to his difficulties, his rear was several times attacked by a detachment of Americans under the Marquis de la Fayette, who, with several other French officers, had lately joined the American cause. Annoyed by these attacks, General Clinton attacked the main body of the enemy, who were drawn up in line behind Monmouth court-house. He drove them successively fron two positions which they occupied, but as they returned and formed in a third position, he desisted from the attack, and led off his troops at ten at night, and resuming his march, passed over to Staten and Long Islands, and thence to New York.

The next enterprise in which the Royal Highlanders were engaged was under Major-General Charles Grey, who embarked with the grenadiers, the light infantry brigade, and the 42d regiment, for the purpose of destroying a number of privateers, with their prizes, at New Plymouth. The troops landed on the banks of the Acushnet River on the fifth of September, and having destroyed seventy vessels, with all the stores, cargoes, wharfs, and buildings, along the whole extent of the river, the whole were reëmbarked the following day, and returned to New York.

Matters remained quiescent till the twenty-fifth of February, when Colonel Stirling, with a detachment consisting of the light infantry of the Guards and the 42d regiment, was ordered to attack a post at Elizabeth Town, which was taken without opposition. In April following, the Highland regiment was employed in an expedition to the Chesapeake to destroy the stores and

merchandise at Portsmouth in Virginia. They were again employed with the Guards and a corps of Hessians in another expedition under General Mathews, which sailed on the thirtieth, under the convoy of Sir George Collier, in the *Reasonable,* and several ships of war. This expedition reached its destination on the tenth of May, when the troops landed on the glebe on the western bank of Elizabeth. They returned to New York after fulfilling the object of the expedition.

The campaign of 1779 was begun by the capture, on the part of the British, of Verplanks and Stony Point. A garrison of six hundred men, among whom were two companies of Fraser's Highlanders, took possession of this last post; but owing to the too great confidence of the commander, it was surprised and recaptured. Flushed with this success, the American general, Wayne, made an immediate attack upon Verplanks, which was garrisoned by the 33d regiment; but receiving accounts of the advance of Colonel Stirling with the light infantry and the 42d, he retreated from Verplanks and abandoned Stony Point, of which Colonel Stirling took possession. This officer being shortly thereafter appointed aide-de-camp to the king, and a brigadier-general, the command of the 42d regiment devolved on Major Charles Graham.

About this time a circumstance occurred which tended greatly to deteriorate, for several years, the hitherto irreproachable character of the Royal Highland regiment. By order of the inspector-general at Chatham, a body of 150 recruits, raised principally from the refuse of the population of London and Dublin, was embarked for the regiment in the autumn of this year. Of such dissipated habits had these men been, that sixteen died on the voyage, and seventy-five were sent to the hospital as soon as they disembarked. The infusion of such immoral

ingredients could not have failed to have tainted the whole mass, and General Stirling made a strong representation to the commander-in-chief to avert such a calamity from the regiment, by removing the recruits to another corps. They were, in consequence, drafted into the 26th, in exchange for the same number of Scotchmen; but the introduction of these men into the regiment dissolved the charm which, for nearly forty years, had preserved the Highlanders from contamination. During that long period there were few courts-martial, and for many years no instance of corporal punishment occurred. So nice were their notions of honour, that "if a soldier was brought to she halberts he became degraded, and little more good was to be expected of him. After being publicly disgraced, he could no longer associate with his comrades; and, in several instances, the privates of a company have, from their pay, subscribed to procure the discharge of an obnoxious individual." But "punishments being found indispensable for the men newly introduced, and others becoming more habituated to the sight, much of the sense of honour was necessarily lost."

An illustration of the strong national feeling with which the corps was regarded by the Highlanders, and of the expediency of keeping it unmixed, occurred in April of the same year, when two strong detachments of recruits belonging to the 42d and 71st regiments arrived at Leith from Stirling castle, for the purpose of embarking to join their respective regiments in North America. Being told that they were to be turned over to the 80th and 82d, the Edinburgh and Hamilton regiments, the men remonstrated, and declared openly and firmly that they were determined to serve only in the corps for which they were enlisted. After some negotiation, troops were sent to Leith with orders

to convey the refractory Highlanders as prisoners to Edinburgh castle, if they persisted in their determination. As they still refused to forego their resolution, attempts were made to enforce the orders; but the Highlanders refused to submit, and flying to arms, a desperate conflict ensued, in which Captain Mansfield of the South Fencible regiment and nine men were killed, and thirty-one soldiers wounded. Being at last overpowered, the mutineers were carried to the castle.

In the month of May following, three of these prisoners, Charles Williamson and Archibald Macivor, soldiers in the 42d regiment, and Robert Budge, soldier in the 71st, were brought before a court-martial, "charged with having been guilty of a mutiny at Leith upon Tuesday the twentieth of April last past, and of having instigated others to be guilty of the same, in which mutiny several of his Majesty's subjects were killed, and many wounded."

Their reasons for resisting the orders to embark, are thus stated in their defence. "The prisoners, Archibald Macivor and Charles Williamson, enlisted as soldiers in the 42d, being an old Highland regiment, wearing the Highland dress. Their native language was Gaelic, — the one being a native of the northern parts of Argyleshire, and the other of the western parts of Inverness-shire, where the language of the country is Gaelic only. They have never used any other language, and are so ignorant of the English tongue, that they cannot avail themselves of it for any purpose of life. They have always been accustomed to the Highland habit, so far as never to have worn breeches, a thing so inconvenient, and even so impossible for a native Highlander to do, that, when the Highland dress was prohibited by act of parliament, though the philibeg was one of the forbidden parts of the dress, yet it was necessary to connive at

the use of it, provided only that it was made of a stuff of one colour and not of tartan, as is well known to all acquainted with the Highlands, particularly with the more mountainous parts of the country. These circumstances made it more necessary for them to serve in a Highland regiment only, as they neither could have understood the language, nor have used their arms, or marched in the dress of any other regiment."

The other prisoner, Budge, stated that he was a native of the upper parts of Caithness, and being ignorant of the English language, and accustomed to wear the Highland garb, he enlisted to serve in Fraser's Highlanders, and in no other regiment. In continuation, the three prisoners stated, that, "when they arrived at Leith, they were informed by their officer, Captain Innes, who had conducted them, that they were now to consider the officers of the 82d, or Duke of Hamilton's regiment, a regiment wearing the Lowland dress and speaking the English tongue, as their officers; but how this happened they were not informed. No order from the commander-in-chief for their being drafted was read or explained to them, but they were told that they must immediately join the Hamilton and Edinburgh regiments. A great number of the detachment represented, without any disorder or mutinous behaviour, that they were altogether unfit for service in any other corps than Highland ones, particularly that they were incapable of wearing breeches as a part of their dress. At the same time, they declared their willingness to be regularly transferred to any other Highland regiment, or to continue to serve in those regiments into which they had been regularly enlisted. But no regard was paid to these remonstrances, which, if they had had an opportunity, they would have laid before the commander-in-chief. But an order for an immediate embarkation prevented

this. The idea that naturally suggested itself to them was, that they should insist on serving in the same regiment in which they had been enlisted, and not to go abroad as part of the Duke of Hamilton's regiment till such time as these difficulties were removed. They accordingly drew up under arms on the shore of Leith, each respective corps by itself. The prisoners were informed that the orders issued were to take them prisoners to the castle. Had these orders been explained to them, they would have submitted, and, with proper humility, have laid their case before those that could have given them redress. But, unfortunately, the sergeant who undertook to explain to them in Gaelic, represented that they were immediately to go on board as part of the Hamilton regiment, but which they do with great deference say, that they did not at the time conceive they could lawfully have done." After the defence was read, "Captain Innes of the 71st regiment showed an attestation to the court, which he said was in the uniform style of the attestations for that regiment; and it expressly bore, that the persons thereby attested were to serve in the 71st regiment, commanded by General Simon Fraser of Lovat, and that they were to serve for three years only, or during the continuance of the present war."

Having been found guilty, the prisoners were sentenced to be shot. The king gave them a free pardon, "in full confidence that they would endeavour, by a prompt obedience and orderly behaviour, to atone for this atrocious offence." These men, along with the rest of the detachment, joined the second battalion of the 42d. The prisoners justified the confidence of his Majesty by steadiness and good conduct in the regiment.

With the intention of pushing the war with vigour, the new commander-in-chief resolved to attack Charles-

ton, the capital of South Carolina. Leaving General Knyphausen in command, he embarked part of his army, and after a boisterous and protracted voyage of nearly seven weeks, during which some of his transports were lost or taken, he landed at John's Island, thirty miles from Charleston, on the eleventh of February, 1780. Owing to various impediments, he did not reach Charleston till the end of March. After a siege of six weeks the place surrendered. The loss of the British did not exceed three hundred men. Lieutenant Macleod of the 42d, and nine privates, were killed; and Lieutenant Alexander Grant of the same regiment, son of Colonel Grant of Moy, was wounded by a six-pound ball, which struck him on the back in a slanting direction, near the right shoulder, and carried away the entire scapula with several other bones. The surgeons considered his case as utterly hopeless, but to their surprise they found him alive next morning, and free from fever and all bad symptoms. He recovered completely, and served many years in perfect good health. Fourteen privates were wounded.

The Royal Highlanders, with the Grenadiers and Hessians, reëmbarked on the fourth of June for New York, and, after several movements in the province, went into winter quarters. Here they received an accession of a hundred recruits from Scotland. The regiment was not again employed in any active service during the remainder of the war.

Whilst the war lasted, the Americans held out every allurement to the British soldiers to induce them to desert their ranks and join the cause of American independence. Many were, in consequence, seduced from their allegiance; but during five campaigns, and until the unfortunate draft of men from the 26th regiment, not one man from the 42d deserted its ranks. About the

close of the war the regiment was stationed at Paulus Hook, an advanced post from New York leading to the Jerseys, and here, for the first time, several of the men deserted to the enemy. One of these deserters, by name Anderson, was afterward taken, tried by a court-martial, and shot.

After the peace the establishment of the regiment was reduced to eight companies of fifty men each. The officers of the ninth and tenth companies were not put on half-pay, but kept as supernumeraries to fill up vacancies as they occurred in the regiment. Many of the men having been discharged at their own request, their places were supplied by drafts from Fraser's and Macdonald's Highlanders, and from the Edinburgh and Hamilton regiments, some of the men in these corps having preferred rather to remain in America than return home with their regiments.

During the American revolutionary war the loss of the Royal Highlanders was as follows:

	KILLED.
In Officers	2
Sergeants	9
Rank and File, including Drummers	72
Total	83

	WOUNDED.
In Officers	13
Sergeants	18
Rank and File, including Drummers	256
Total	287
Grand Total	370

In October, 1782, the regiment was sent to Halifax in Nova Scotia, where it remained till the year 1786, when six companies were removed to the island of Cape Breton, the remaining two companies being detached

to the island of St. John. Next year two companies were added to the regiment, in consequence of preparations for war with Holland. Captains William Johnstone and Robert Christie succeeded to these companies. Lieutenant Robert Macdonald, brother of Sanda, from the half-pay of Fraser's regiment, and Ensign James Rose, were appointed lieutenants; and Ensign David Stewart (afterward major-general, and author of the "Military Sketches"), and James Stewart, nephew of the Earl of Moray, ensigns.

About this time the regiment had to regret the loss of its colonel, Lord John Murray, who died on the first of June this year, after commanding the corps forty-one years. He was the steady friend of the officers and men. Major-General Sir Hector Monro succeeded him in the command.

The regiment embarked for England in August, 1789, and landed in Portsmouth in October, after an absence of fourteen years. They wintered in Tynemouth barracks, where they received a reinforcement of 245 young recruits. At this time a small alteration was made in the military appointments of the men. Instead of the black leather belts for the bayonet, white buff belts were substituted. The epaulettes of the officers, formerly very small, were then enlarged to the present size.

The regiment was removed to Glasgow in the month of May, 1790, where they were received with great cordiality by the inhabitants. From an ill-judged hospitality on the part of the citizens, who compelled some of the soldiers to drink copiously of ardent spirits, the discipline of the regiment was relaxed; but its removal to Edinburgh castle in the month of November cured the evil.

Warlike preparations having been made in 1790, in expectation of a rupture with Spain, orders were re-

ceived to augment the regiment; but, from recent occurrences in the Highlands, the regiment was not successful in recruiting. Several independent companies were raised, one of which, a fine body of young Highlanders, recruited by the Marquis of Huntly (now Duke of Gordon), joined the regiment along with his lordship, who had exchanged with Captain Alexander Grant.

The regiment was reviewed in June, 1791, by Lord Adam Gordon, the commander-in-chief in Scotland, and was marched to the north in October following. The headquarters were at Fort George; one company was stationed at Dundee, another at Montrose, two at Aberdeen, and one at Banff. The regiment assembled at Fort George in the spring of 1792, and after having been marched south to Stirling, and reviewed by the Hon. Lieutenant-General Leslie, returned to their former cantonments along the coast. The men had however scarcely returned to their quarters, when they were ordered to proceed by forced marches into Ross-shire, to quell some tumults among the tenantry who had been cruelly ejected from their farms. Fortunately, however, there was no occasion for the exercise of such an unpleasant duty, as the poor people separated and concealed themselves on hearing of the approach of the military. After a series of marches and countermarches, the regiment returned to its former cantonments.

In consequence of the war with France, the whole regiment was ordered south, and, preparatory to their march, assembled at Montrose in April, 1793. An attempt to increase the establishment by recruiting proved unsuccessful, the result, in some degree, of the depopulating system which had lately been commenced in Ross-shire, and which soured the kindly dispositions of the Highlanders. The corps at this time scarcely exceeded four hundred men, and to make up for de-

ficiencies in recruiting, two independent companies, raised by Captains David Hunter of Burnside, and Alexander Campbell of Ardchattan, were ordered to join the regiment.

On the eighth of May, the regiment embarked at Musselburgh for Hull, the inhabitants of which received the Highlanders most kindly, and were so well pleased with their good conduct, that, after they embarked for Flanders, the town sent each man a present of a pair of shoes, a flannel shirt, and worsted socks. The regiment joined the army under his royal highness, the Duke of York, then encamped in the neighbourhood of Menin, on the third of October.

The first enterprise in which the Highlanders were engaged was in conjunction with the light companies of the 19th, 27th, and 57th regiments, in the month of October, when they marched to the relief of Nieuport, then garrisoned by the 53d regiment, and a small battalion of Hessians. On the appearance of this reinforcement, the besiegers retired. The Highlanders had one sergeant and one private killed, and two privates wounded. After this the regiment was reëmbarked for England along with the three others just mentioned, to join an expedition then preparing against the French colonies in the West Indies; but on arriving at Portsmouth, the 42d was ordered to join another expedition then fitting out against the coast of France, under the command of the Earl of Moira. Colonel Graham, who had held the command of the regiment since the year 1791, being at this time appointed to the command of a brigade, the command devolved on Major George Dalrymple.

The expedition sailed on the thirtieth of November, but although it reached the coast of France to the eastward of Cape la Hogue, no landing took place. The

expedition, after stopping some time at Guernsey, returned to Portsmouth in the beginning of January, 1794. The troops remained in England till the eighteenth of June, when they were reëmbarked for Flanders, under the command of the Earl of Moira. They landed at Ostend on the twenty-sixth. At this time the allied armies, in consequence of the advance of a large French army and the partial defection of Prussia, were placed in a very critical situation, particularly the small division under the Duke of York, encamped at Malines. A junction with the duke became a primary object with Lord Moira, who accordingly resolved to abandon Ostend. He embarked all the stores and the garrison, and, whilst the embarkation was proceeding, the troops were ordered under arms on the sand hills in the neighbourhood in light marching order. The officers left all their luggage behind, except what they carried on their backs. In the evening of the twenty-eighth the troops moved forward, and halting ten miles beyond the town, proceeded at midnight towards Ostaker, and reached Alost on the third of July. Whilst these troops remained here, about four hundred of the enemy's cavalry entered the town, and being mistaken for Hessians, passed unmolested to the market-place. One of them made an attempt to cut down a Highlander named Macdonald, who was passing through the market-place with a basket on his head. The dragoon having wounded the man severely in the hand which held the basket, the enraged mountaineer drew his bayonet with the other hand and attacked the horseman, who fled. Macdonald thereupon continued his course, venting his regret as he went along that he had not a broadsword to cut down the intruder. On being recognized, the enemy were driven out by some dragoons and piquets.

After a fatiguing march in presence of a superior force

under General Vandamme, the reinforcement joined the Duke of York on the ninth of July. A succession of petty skirmishes occurred until the twentieth, when Lord Moira resigned the command. He was succeeded by Lieutenant-General Ralph Abercromby, to whom the command of the third brigade, or reserve, in which were the Highlanders, was assigned. The army crossed the Waal at Nimeguen on the eighth of October. Several smart affairs took place between the advanced posts of the two armies till the twentieth, when the enemy attacked the whole of the British advanced posts. They were repulsed, but the 77th regiment sustained a severe loss in officers and men. By incessant attacks, however, the enemy established themselves in front of Nimeguen, and began to erect batteries preparatory to a siege; but on the fourth of November they were driven from their works, after an obstinate resistance. The enemy still persevering with great energy to push their preparations for a siege, it was found necessary to evacuate the town.

This evacuation took place on the seventh of November, and the army was cantoned along the banks of the river. They suffered greatly from the severity of the weather, and so intense was the frost, that the enemy crossed the Waal on the ice. They took post at Thuyl; but although the place was surrounded with entrenchments, and the approach flanked by batteries placed on the isle of Bommell, they were forced from all their posts, and obliged to repass the Waal by a body of eight thousand British, among whom was the third brigade. The loss of the British was trifling. The enemy again crossed the Waal on the fourth of January, 1795, and retook Thuyl, from which it was now found impossible to dislodge them. In an attack which they made on the forces under General David Dundas at Gilder-

maslen, they were repulsed with the loss of two hundred men, whilst that of the British was only about one-fourth of that number. The 42d regiment had one private killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lamond and seven privates wounded.

Compelled by the severity of the weather and the increasing numbers of the French to retreat, the British troops retired behind the Leck, after the division under Lord Cathcart had repulsed an attack made by the enemy on the eighth.

Disease, the result of a want of necessaries and proper clothing, had greatly diminished the ranks of the British; and the men, whose robustness of constitution had hitherto enabled them to withstand the rigours of one of the severest winters ever remembered, at last sank under the accumulated hardships which beset them. Such was the state of the British army when General Pichegru, crossing the Waal in great force, made a general attack on the fourteenth of January along the whole line, from Arnheim to Amerougen. After a continued resistance till morning, the British began the disastrous retreat to Deventer, the miseries of which have only been exceeded by the sufferings of the French in their disastrous retreat from Moscow. The inhumanity of the Dutch boors, who uniformly shut their doors against the unfortunate sufferers, will ever remain a disgrace on the Dutch nation. The hospitable conduct of the inhabitants of Bremen, where the remains of this luckless army arrived in the beginning of April, formed a noble contrast to that of the selfish and unfeeling Dutch.

In no former campaign was the superiority of the Highlanders over their companions in arms, in enduring privations and fatigues, more conspicuous than in this; for whilst some of the newly raised regiments lost

more than three hundred men by disease alone, the 42d, which had three hundred young recruits in its ranks, lost only twenty-five, including those killed in battle, from the time of their disembarkation at Ostend till their embarkation at Bremen, on the fourteenth of April.

The Royal Highlanders having landed at Harwich were marched to Chelmsford, and encamped in June, 1795, in the neighbourhood of Danbury. In September the regiment was augmented to a thousand men, by drafts from the Strathspey and Perthshire Highlanders, and the regiments of Colonel Duncan Cameron and Colonel Simon Fraser, which had been raised the preceding year, and were now broken up. "Although these drafts," says General Stewart, "furnished many good and serviceable men, they were, in many respects, very inferior to former recruits. This difference of character was more particularly marked in their habits and manners in quarters, than in their conduct in the field, which was always unexceptionable. Having been embodied for upwards of eighteen months, and having been subject to a greater mixture of character than was usual in Highland battalions, these corps had lost much of their original manners, and of that strict attention to religious and moral duties which distinguished the Highland youths on quitting their native glens, and which, when in corps unmixed with men of different characters, they always retained. This intermixture produced a sensible change in the moral conduct and character of the regiment."

CHAPTER III

IN THE WEST INDIES AND EGYPT

GOVERNMENT having determined to reduce the French and Dutch possessions in the West Indies, a large armament was fitted out under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby. The land forces consisted of 460 cavalry and 16,479 infantry. The Royal Highlanders formed part of this expedition. Another expedition, destined also for the West Indies, consisting of 2,600 cavalry, and 5,680 foot, assembled at Cork during the embarkation of the first. Great care was taken to furnish the troops with everything necessary for the voyage, and particular attention was paid to their clothing. To protect them from the damps and chills of midnight, they were supplied with flannel, and various changes were made in their clothing to guard them against the effects of the yellow fever. Among other changes, the plain kilt and bonnet of the Highlanders were laid aside, and their place supplied by Russian duck pantaloons and a round hat; but experience showed that the Highland dress was better suited to a campaign in the West Indies during the rainy season, than the articles which superseded it.

The embarkation was completed by the twenty-seventh of October, but in consequence of damage sustained by some of the ships in a hurricane, and the loss of others, the expedition did not sail till the eleventh of November. On that day the fleet, amounting to 328

sail, got under weigh with a favourable breeze. Owing to accidents which befell two of the ships, the fleet did not clear the channel till the thirteenth of December; but it had scarcely got out when a violent storm arose, which continued almost without intermission for several weeks. The greater part of the fleet was scattered, and many of the ships took refuge in different ports in England. Admiral Crichton struggled with such of the ships as remained with him till the end of January, but was at last obliged, from the disabled state of some of the ships, to return to Portsmouth, where he arrived on the twenty-ninth of that month with about fifty sail. Seventy-eight of the ships which kept the sea proceeded on their voyage, and reached Barbadoes in a straggling manner. Had the troops been sent off in detachments as they embarked, these misfortunes would have been avoided.

After the partial return of the expedition, the destination of some of the returned regiments was changed. Five companies of the Highlanders were in a few weeks embarked for Gibraltar, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson. The other five companies reached Barbadoes on the ninth of February in the *Middlesex* East Indiaman, one of the straggling ships which had proceeded on the voyage. The expedition again put to sea on the fourteenth of February, and arrived at Barbadoes on the fourteenth of March. By the great care of Sir Ralph Abercromby, in ordering the transports to be properly ventilated on their arrival, and by enforcing cleanliness and exercise among the troops, few deaths occurred; and of the five Highland companies, none died, and only four men with trifling complaints were left on board when the troops disembarked at St. Lucia in April. The troops from Cork, though favoured with better weather, were less fortunate

in their voyage, — several officers and a great many men having died.

The first enterprise was against the Dutch colonies of Demerara and Berbice, which surrendered to a part of the Cork division under Major-General White, on the twenty-second of April. On the same day the expedition sailed from Barbadoes, and appeared off St. Lucia on the twenty-sixth, it being considered imprudent to attempt Guadaloupe with a force which had been so much diminished.

The troops landed in four divisions at Longueville Bay, Pigeon Island, Chock Bay, and Ance la Raze. The Highlanders, under the command of Brigadier-General John Moore, landed in a small bay close under Pigeon Island. The army moved forward on the twenty-seventh to close in upon Morne Fortunée, the principal post in the island. To enable them to invest this place, it became necessary to obtain possession of Morne Chabot, a strong and commanding position overlooking the principal approach. Detachments under the command of Brigadier-Generals Moore and the Hon. John Hope were accordingly ordered to attack this post on two different points. General Moore advanced at midnight, and General Hope followed an hour after by a less circuitous route; but falling in with the enemy sooner than he expected, General Moore carried the Morne, after a short but obstinate resistance, before General Hope came up. Next day General Moore took possession of Morne Duchassaux. By the advance of Major-General Morshead from Ance la Raze, Morne Fortunée was completely invested, but not until several officers and about fifty of the grenadiers, who formed the advanced post under Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, had been killed and wounded.

To dispossess the enemy of the batteries they had

erected on the cul-de-sac, Major-General Morshead's division was ordered to advance against two batteries on the left, whilst Major-General Hope, with the five companies of the Highlanders, the light infantry of the 57th regiment, and a detachment of Malcolm's Rangers, supported by the 55th regiment, was to attack the battery of Secke, close to the works of Morne Fortunée. The light infantry and the rangers quickly drove the enemy from the battery; but they were obliged to retire from the battery in their turn under the cover of the Highlanders, in consequence of the other divisions under Brigadier-General Perryn and Colonel Riddle having been obstructed in their advance. In this affair Colonel Malcolm, a brave officer, was killed, and Lieutenant J. J. Fraser of the 42d, and a few men, wounded. The other divisions suffered severely.

So great were the difficulties which presented themselves from the steep and rugged nature of the ground, that the first battery was not ready to open till the fourteenth of May. In an attempt which the 31st regiment made upon a fortified ridge called the Vizie, on the evening of the seventeenth, they were repulsed with great loss; but the grenadiers, who had pushed forward to support them, compelled the enemy to retire. For six days a constant fire was kept up between the batteries and the fort. Having ineffectually attempted to drive back the 27th regiment from a lodgment they had formed within five hundred yards of the garrison, the enemy applied for and obtained a suspension of hostilities. This was soon followed by a capitulation and the surrender of the whole island. The garrison marched out on the twenty-ninth, and became prisoners of war. The loss of the British was two field-officers, three captains, five subalterns, and 184 non-commissioned officers and rank and file killed; and four field

officers, twelve captains, fifteen subalterns, and 523 non-commissioned officers and rank and file wounded and missing.

As an instance of the influence of the mind on bodily health, and of the effect of mental activity in preventing disease, General Stewart adduces this expedition as a striking illustration. "During the operations which, from the nature of the country, were extremely harassing, the troops continued remarkably healthy; but immediately after the cessation of hostilities, they began to droop. The five companies of Highlanders, who landed 508 men, sent few to the hospital until the third day subsequent to the surrender; but after this event, so sudden was the change in their health, that upwards of sixty men were laid up within the space of seven days. This change may be, in part, ascribed to the sudden transition from incessant activity to repose, but its principal cause must have been the relaxation of the mental and physical energies, after the motives which stimulated them had subsided."

The next enterprise was against St. Vincent's, where a detachment consisting of the Buffs, the 14th, 34th, 42d, 53d, 54th, 59th, and 63d regiments, and the 2d West Indian regiment, landed on the eighth of June. The enemy had erected four redoubts on a high ridge called the Vizie, on which they had taken up a position. The arrangements for an attack having been completed on the tenth, the troops were drawn up in two divisions under Major-Generals Hunter and William Morshead, at a short distance from the ridge. Another division formed on the opposite side of the hill. The attack was commenced by a fire from some field-pieces on the redoubts, which was kept up for some hours apparently with little effect. As a feint, the Highlanders and some of the Rangers in the meantime moved forward to the

bottom of a woody steep which terminated the ridge, on the top of which stood one of the redoubts, the first in the range. Pushing their way up the steep, the 42d regiment turned the feint into a real assault, and with the assistance of the Buffs, by whom they were supported, drove the enemy successively from the first three redoubts in less than half an hour. Some of the Highlanders had pushed close under the last and principal redoubt, but the general, seeing that he had the enemy in his power, and wishing to spare the lives of his troops, recalled the Highlanders, and offered the enemy terms of capitulation, which were accepted. The conditions, *inter alia*, were, that the enemy should embark as prisoners of war; but several hundreds of them broke the capitulation by escaping into the woods the following night. The total loss of the British on this occasion was 181 in killed and wounded. The Highlanders had one sergeant and twelve rank and file killed; and one officer, Lieutenant Simon Fraser, two sergeants, one drummer, and twenty-nine rank and file wounded.

In order to subjugate the island, the troops were divided and sent to different stations, and military posts were established in the neighbourhood of the country possessed by the Caribbs and brigands. Favoured by the natural strength of the country, the enemy carried on a petty warfare with the troops among the woods till the month of September, when they surrendered. The French, including the brigands, were sent prisoners to England, and the Indians or Caribbs, amounting to upwards of five thousand, were transported to Ratan, an island in the Gulf of Mexico.

In September, Sir Ralph Abercromby returned to England, when the temporary command of the army devolved upon Major-General Charles Graham, who was promoted this year from the lieutenant-colonelcy of

the 42d to the colonelcy of the 5th West India regiment. He was succeeded in the lieutenant-colonelcy by Major James Stewart. The commander-in-chief returned from England in February, 1797, and immediately collected a force for an attack on Trinidad, which surrendered without opposition. He, thereafter, assembled a body of troops, consisting of the 26th light dragoons dismounted, the 14th, 42d, 53d, and some other corps, at St. Christopher's, for an attack on Porto Rico, whither they proceeded on the fifteenth of April, and anchored off Congregus's Point on the seventeenth. The enemy made a slight opposition to the landing, but retired when the troops disembarked. As the inhabitants of Porto Rico, whose dispositions had been represented as favourable, did not show any disposition to surrender, and as the Moro or castle was too strong to be attacked with such an inconsiderable force, which was insufficient to blockade more than one of its sides, the commander-in-chief resolved to give up the attempt, and accordingly reëmbarked his troops on the thirtieth of April. This was the last enterprise against the enemy in that quarter during the rest of the war. The Highlanders were sent to Martinique, where they embarked for England, free from sickness, after having the casualties of the two preceding years more than supplied by volunteers from the 79th Highlanders, then stationed in Martinique. The Royal Highlanders landed at Portsmouth on the thirtieth of July in good health, and were marched to Hillsea barracks. After remaining a few weeks there, the five companies embarked for Gibraltar, where they joined the five other companies, whose destination had been changed by their return to port after the sailing of the expedition to the West Indies. The regiment was now eleven hundred men strong.

The next service in which the Royal Highlanders was

engaged was on an expedition against the Island of Minorca, under the command of Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir Charles Stewart, in the month of November, 1798. The British troops having invested Cittadella, the principal fortress in the island, on the fourteenth of November, the Spanish commander, who had concentrated his forces in that garrison, surrendered on the following day. The Spanish general, whose force greatly exceeded that of the invaders, was deceived as to their numbers, which, from the artful mode in which they were dispersed over the adjoining eminences, he believed to amount to at least ten thousand men.

The possession of Minorca was of considerable importance, as it was made the rendezvous of a large force about to be employed on the coast of the Mediterranean, in support of our allies, in the year 1800. The command of this army was given to Sir Ralph Abercromby, who arrived on the twenty-second of June, accompanied by Major-Generals Hutchinson and Moore. A part of the army was embarked for the relief of Genoa, then closely besieged by the French, and a detachment was also sent to Colonel Thomas Graham of Balgowan, who blockaded the garrison of La Vallette in the Island of Malta.

Genoa having surrendered before the reinforcement arrived, the troops returned to Minorca, and were afterward embarked for Gibraltar, where they arrived on the fourteenth of September, when accounts were received of the surrender of Malta, after a blockade of nearly two years. Early in October, the armament sailed for Cadiz, to take possession of the city, and the Spanish fleet in the harbour of Carraccas, and was joined by the army under Sir James Pulteney from Ferrol; but when the Highlanders and part of the reserve were about landing in the boats, a gun from Cadiz announced the approach of a flag of truce. The town was suffering

dreadfully from the ravages of the pestilence, and the object of the communication was to implore the British commander to desist from the attack. Sir Ralph Abercromby, with his characteristic humanity, could not withstand the appeal, and accordingly suspended the attack. The fleet got under weigh the following morning for the Bay of Tetuan, on the coast of Barbary, and after being tossed about in a violent gale, during which it was obliged to take refuge under the lee of Cape Spartell, the fleet returned to Gibraltar.

Government, having determined to make an attempt to drive the French out of Egypt, despatched orders to the commander-in-chief to proceed to Malta, where, on their arrival, the troops were informed of their destination. Tired of confinement on board the transports, they were all greatly elevated on receiving this intelligence, and looked forward to a contest on the plains of Egypt with the hitherto victorious legions of France, with the feelings of men anxious to support the honour of their country. The whole of the British land forces amounted to 13,234 men, and 630 artillery; but the efficient force was only 12,334. The French force amounted to thirty-two thousand men, besides several thousand native auxiliaries.

The fleet sailed in two divisions for Marmorice, a bay on the coast of Greece, on the twentieth and twenty-first of December, in the year 1800. The Turks were to have a reinforcement of men and horses at that place. The first division arrived on the twenty-eighth of December, and the second on the first of January following. Having received the Turkish supplies, which were in every respect deficient, the fleet again got under weigh on the twenty-third of February, and on the morning of Sunday, the first of March, the low and sandy coast of Egypt was descried. The fleet came to anchor in the

evening in Aboukir bay, on the spot where the battle of the Nile had been fought nearly three years before. After the fleet had anchored, a violent gale sprung up, which continued without intermission till the evening of the seventh, when it moderated.

As a disembarkation could not be attempted during the continuance of the gale, the French had ample time to prepare themselves, and to throw every obstacle which they could devise in the way of a landing. No situation could be more embarrassing than that of Sir Ralph Abercromby on the present occasion; but his strength of mind carried him through every difficulty. "He had to force a landing in an unknown country, in the face of an enemy more than double his numbers, and nearly three times as numerous as they were previously believed to be, — an enemy, moreover, in full possession of the country, occupying all its fortified positions, having a numerous and well-appointed cavalry, inured to the climate, and a powerful artillery, — an enemy who knew every point where a landing could, with any prospect of success, be attempted, and who had taken advantage of the unavoidable delay, already mentioned, to erect batteries and bring guns and ammunition to the point where they expected the attempt would be made. In short, the general had to encounter embarrassments, and bear up under difficulties, which would have paralyzed the mind of a man less firm and less confident of the devotion and bravery of his troops. These disadvantages, however, served only to strengthen his resolution. He knew that his army was determined to conquer or to perish with him; and, aware of the high hopes which the country had placed in both, he resolved to proceed in the face of obstacles which some would have deemed insurmountable."

The first division destined to effect a landing, con-

sisted of the flank companies of the 40th, and Welsh fusileers on the right, the 28th, 42d, and 58th, in the centre, the brigade of guards, Corsican rangers, and a part of the 1st brigade, consisting of the Royals and 54th, on the left, — amounting altogether to 5,230 men. As there were not a sufficiency of boats, all this force did not land at once; and one company of Highlanders, and detachments of other regiments, did not get on shore till the return of the boats. The troops fixed upon to lead the way got into the boats at two o'clock on the morning of the eighth of March, and formed in rear of the *Mondovi*, Captain John Stewart, which was anchored out of reach of shot from the shore. By an admirable arrangement, each boat was placed in such a manner, that, when the landing was effected, every brigade, every regiment, and even every company, found itself in the proper station assigned to them. As such an arrangement required time to complete it, it was eight o'clock before the boats were ready to move forward. Expectation was wound up to the highest pitch, when, at nine o'clock, a signal was given, and the whole boats, with a simultaneous movement, sprung forward, under the command of the Hon. Captain Alexander Cochrane. Although the rowers strained every nerve, such was the regularity of their pace, that no boat got ahead of the rest.

At first the enemy did not believe that the British would attempt a landing in the face of their lines and defences; but when the boats had come within range of their batteries, they began to perceive their mistake, and then opened a heavy fire from their batteries in front, and from the castle of Aboukir in flank. To the showers of grape and shells, the enemy added a fire of musketry from twenty-five hundred men, on the near approach of the boats to the shore. In a short time the

boats on the right, containing the 23d, 28th, 42d, and 58th regiments, with the flank companies of the 40th, got under the elevated position of the enemy's batteries, so as to be sheltered from their fire, and meeting with no opposition from the enemy, who did not descend to the beach, these troops disembarked and formed in line on the seashore. Lest an irregular fire might have created confusion in the ranks, no orders were given to load, but the men were directed to rush up the face of the hill and charge the enemy.

When the word was given to advance, the soldiers sprung up the ascent, but their progress was retarded by the loose dry sand which so deeply covered the ascent, that the soldiers fell back half a pace every step they advanced. When about half way to the summit, they came in sight of the enemy, who poured down upon them a destructive volley of musketry. Redoubling their exertions, they gained the height before the enemy could reload their pieces; and, though exhausted with fatigue, and almost breathless, they drove the enemy from their position at the point of the bayonet. A squadron of cavalry then advanced and attacked the Highlanders, but they were instantly repulsed, with the loss of their commander. A scattered fire was kept up for some time by a party of the enemy from behind a second line of small sand-hills, but they fled in confusion on the advance of the troops. The guards and first brigade, having landed on ground nearly on a level with the water, were immediately attacked, — the first by cavalry, and the 54th by a body of infantry, who advanced with fixed bayonets. The assailants were repulsed.

In this brilliant affair the British had four officers, four sergeants, and ninety-four rank and file killed, among whom were thirty-one Highlanders; twenty-six

officers, thirty-four sergeants, five drummers, and 450 rank and file wounded; among whom were, of the Highlanders, Lieutenant-Colonel James Stewart, Captain Charles Macquarrie, Lieutenants Alexander Campbell, John Dick, Frederick Campbell, Stewart Campbell, Charles Campbell, Ensign Wilson, seven sergeants, four drummers, and 140 rank and file.

The venerable commander-in-chief, anxious to be at the head of his troops, immediately left the admiral's ship, and on reaching the shore, leaped from the boat with the vigour of youth. Taking his station on a little sand-hill, he received the congratulations of the officers by whom he was surrounded, on the ability and firmness with which he had conducted the enterprise. The general, on his part, expressed his gratitude to them for "an intrepidity scarcely to be parallelled," and which had enabled them to overcome every difficulty.

The remainder of the army landed in the course of the evening, but three days elapsed before the provisions and stores were disembarked. Menou, the French commander, availed himself of this interval to collect more troops and strengthen his position; so that on moving forward on the evening of the twelfth, the British found him strongly posted among sand-hills, and palm and date trees, about three miles east of Alexandria, with a force of upwards of five thousand infantry, six hundred cavalry, and thirty pieces of artillery.

Early on the morning of the thirteenth, the troops moved forward to the attack in three columns of regiments. At the head of the first column was the 90th or Perthshire regiment; the 92d or Gordon Highlanders formed the advance of the second; and the reserve marching in column covered the movements of the first line, to which it ran parallel. When the army had cleared the date trees, the enemy, leaving the heights,

moved down with great boldness on the 92d, which had just formed in line. They opened a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, which the 92d quickly returned; and, although repeatedly attacked by the French line, supported by a powerful artillery, they maintained their ground singly till the whole line came up. Whilst the 92d was sustaining these attacks from the infantry, the French cavalry attempted to charge the 90th regiment down a declivity with great impetuosity. The regiment stood waiting their approach with cool intrepidity, and after allowing the cavalry to come within fifty yards of them, they poured in upon them a well-directed volley, which so completely broke the charge that only a few of the cavalry reached the regiment, and the greater part of these were instantly bayonetted; the rest fled to their left, and retreated in confusion. Sir Ralph Abercromby, who was always in front, had his horse shot under him, and was rescued by the 90th regiment when nearly surrounded by the enemy's cavalry.

After forming in line, the two divisions moved forward, — the reserve remaining in column to cover the right flank. The enemy retreated to their lines in front of Alexandria, followed by the British army. After reconnoitring their works, the British commander conceiving the difficulties of an attack insuperable, retired, and took up a position about a league from Alexandria. The British suffered severely on this occasion, having had six officers and 150 men killed, and sixty-six officers and 1,004 men wounded. The Royal Highlanders, who were only exposed to distant shot, had only three rank and file killed, and Lieutenant-Colonel Dickson, Captain Archibald Argyle Campbell, Lieutenant Simon Fraser, three sergeants, one drummer, and twenty-three rank and file wounded.

In the position now occupied by the British general, he had the sea on his right flank, and the Lake Maadie on his left. On the right the reserve was placed as an advanced post; the 58th possessed an extensive ruin, supposed to have been the palace of the Ptolemies. On the outside of the ruin, a few paces onward and close on the left, was a redoubt, occupied by the 28th regiment. The 23d, the flank companies of the 40th, the 42d, and the Corsican rangers, were posted five hundred yards towards the rear, ready to support the two corps in front. To the left of this redoubt a sandy plain extended about three hundred yards, and then sloped into a valley. Here, a little retired towards the rear, stood the cavalry of the reserve; and still farther to the left, on a rising ground beyond the valley, the guards were posted, with a redoubt thrown up on their right, a battery on their left, and a small ditch or embankment in front, which connected both. To the left of the guards, in form of an echelon, were posted the Royals, 54th (two battalions), and the 92d; then the 8th or King's, 18th or Royal Irish, 90th and 13th. To the left of the line, and facing the lake at right angles, were drawn up the 27th or Enniskillen, 79th or Cameron Highlanders, and 50th regiment. On the left of the second line were posted the 30th, 89th, 44th, Dillon's, De Roll's, and Stuart's regiments; the dismounted cavalry of the 12th and 26th dragoons completed the second line to the right. The whole was flanked on the right by four cutters, stationed close to the shore. Such was the disposition of the army from the fourteenth till the evening of the twentieth, during which time the whole was kept in constant employment, either in performing military duties, strengthening the position — which had few natural advantages — by the erection of batteries, or in bringing forward cannon, stores, and provisions. Along the whole extent of the

line were arranged two 24-pounders, thirty-two field-pieces, and one 24-pounder in the redoubt occupied by the 28th.

The enemy occupied a parallel position on a ridge of hills extending from the sea beyond the left of the British line, having the town of Alexandria, Fort Caffarelli, and Pharos, in the rear. General Lanusse was on the left of Menou's army with four demi-brigades of infantry, and a considerable body of cavalry commanded by General Roise. General Regnier was on the right with two demi-brigades and two regiments of cavalry, and the centre was occupied by five demi-brigades. The advanced guard, which consisted of one demi-brigade, some light troops, and a detachment of cavalry, was commanded by General D'Estain.

Meanwhile the fort of Aboukir was blockaded by the queen's regiment, and, after a slight resistance, surrendered to Lord Dalhousie on the eighteenth. To replace the Gordon Highlanders, who had been much reduced by previous sickness and by the action of the thirteenth, the queen's regiment was ordered up on the evening of the twentieth. The same evening the British general received accounts that General Menou had arrived at Alexandria with a large reinforcement from Cairo, and was preparing to attack him.

Anticipating this attack, the British army was under arms at an early hour in the morning of the twenty-first of March, and at three o'clock every man was at his post. For half an hour no movement took place on either side, till the report of a musket, followed by that of some cannon, was heard on the left of the line. Upon this signal the enemy immediately advanced, and took possession of a small piquet, occupied by part of Stuart's regiment; but they were instantly driven back. For a time silence again prevailed, but it was a stillness which

portended a deadly struggle. As soon as he heard the firing, General Moore, who happened to be the general officer on duty during the night, had galloped off to the left; but an idea having struck him as he proceeded, that this was a false attack, he turned back, and had hardly returned to his brigade when a loud huzza, succeeded by a roar of musketry, showed that he was not mistaken. The morning was unusually dark, cloudy, and close. The enemy advanced in silence until they approached the piquets, when they gave a shout and pushed forward. At this moment Major Sinclair, as directed by Major-General Oakes, advanced with the left wing of the 42d, and took post on the open ground lately occupied by the 28th regiment, which was now ordered within the redoubt. Whilst the left wing of the Highlanders was thus drawn up, with its right supported by the redoubt, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Stewart was directed to remain with the right wing two hundred yards in the rear, but exactly parallel to the left wing. The Welsh fusileers and the flank companies of the 40th moved forward, at the same time, to support the 58th, stationed in the ruin. This regiment had drawn up in the chasms of the ruined walls, which were in some parts from ten to twenty feet high, under cover of some loose stones which the soldiers had raised for their defence, and which, though sufficiently open for the fire of musketry, formed a perfect protection against the entrance of cavalry or infantry. The attack on the ruin, the redoubt, and the left wing of the Highlanders, was made at the same moment, and with the greatest impetuosity; but the fire of the regiments stationed there, and of the left of the 42d, under Major Stirling, quickly checked the ardour of the enemy. Lieutenant-Colonels Paget of the 28th, and Houston of the 58th, after allowing the enemy to come quite close, directed their regi-

ments to open a fire, which was so well-directed and effective, that the enemy were obliged to retire precipitately to a hollow in their rear.

During this contest in front, a column of the enemy, which bore the name of the Invincibles, preceded by a six-pounder, came silently along the hollow interval from which the cavalry piquet had retired and passed between the left of the 42d and the right of the guards. Though it was still so dark that an object could not be properly distinguished at the distance of two yards, yet with such precision did this column calculate its distance and line of march, that on coming in line with the left wing of the Highlanders, it wheeled to its left, and marched in between the right and left wings of the regiment, which were drawn up in parallel lines. As soon as the enemy were discovered passing between the two lines, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Stewart instantly charged them with the right wing to his proper front, whilst the rear-rank of Major Stirling's wing, facing to the right about, charged to the rear. Being thus placed between two fires, the enemy rushed forward with an intention of entering the ruin, which they supposed was unoccupied. As they passed the rear of the redoubt the 28th faced about and fired upon them. Continuing their course, they reached the ruin, through the openings of which they rushed, followed by the Highlanders, when the 58th and 48th facing about as the 28th had done, also fired upon them. The survivors (about two hundred), unable to withstand this combined attack, threw down their arms and surrendered. The Generals Moore and Oakes were both wounded in the ruin, but were still able to continue in the exercise of their duty. The former, on the surrender of the Invincibles, left the ruin, and hurried to the left of the redoubt, where part of the left wing of the 42d was busily engaged with the enemy

after the rear rank had followed the enemy into the ruins. At this time the enemy was seen advancing in great force on the left of the redoubt, apparently with an intention of making another attempt to turn it. On perceiving their approach, General Moore immediately ordered the Highlanders out of the ruins, and directed them to form line in battalion on the flat on which Major Stirling had originally formed, with their right supported by the redoubt. By thus extending their line they were enabled to present a larger front to the enemy; but in consequence of the rapid advance of the enemy, it was found necessary to check their progress even before the battalion had completely formed in line. Orders were therefore given to drive the enemy back, which were instantly performed with complete success.

Encouraged by the commander-in-chief, who called out from his station, "My brave Highlanders, remember your country, remember your forefathers!" they pursued the enemy along the plain; but they had not proceeded far, when General Moore, whose eye was keen, perceived through the increasing clearness of the atmosphere fresh columns of the enemy drawn up on the plain beyond with three squadrons of cavalry, as if ready to charge through the intervals of their retreating infantry. As no time was to be lost, the general ordered the regiment to retire from their advanced position, and re-form on the left of the redoubt. This order, although repeated by Colonel Stewart, was only partially heard in consequence of the noise of the firing; and the result was, that whilst the companies who heard it retired on the redoubt, the rest hesitated to follow. The enemy, observing the intervals between these companies, resolved to avail themselves of the circumstance, and advanced in great force. Broken as the line was by the separation of the companies, it seemed almost im-

possible to resist with effect an impetuous charge of cavalry; yet every man stood firm. Many of the enemy were killed in the advance. The companies who stood in compact bodies drove back all who charged them with great loss. Part of the cavalry passed through the intervals, and wheeling to their left, as the "Invincibles" had done early in the morning, were received by the 28th, who, facing to their rear, poured on them a destructive fire, which killed many of them. It is extraordinary that in this onset only thirteen Highlanders were wounded by the sabre, — a circumstance to be ascribed to the firmness with which they stood, first endeavouring to bring down the horse, before the rider came within sword-length, and then despatching him with the bayonet, before he had time to recover his legs from the fall of the horse.

Enraged at the disaster which had befallen the *élite* of his cavalry, General Menou ordered forward a column of infantry, supported by cavalry, to make a second attempt on the position; but this body was repulsed at all points by the Highlanders. Another body of cavalry now dashed forward as the former had done, and met with a similar reception, numbers falling, and others passing through to the rear, where they were again overpowered by the 28th. It was impossible for the Highlanders to withstand much longer such repeated attacks, particularly as they were reduced to the necessity of fighting every man on his own ground, and unless supported they must soon have been destroyed. The fortunate arrival of the brigade of Brigadier-General Stuart, which advanced from the second line, and formed on the left of the Highlanders, probably saved them from destruction. At this time the enemy were advancing in great force, both of cavalry and infantry, apparently determined to overwhelm the handful of

men who had hitherto baffled all their efforts. Though surprised to find a fresh and more numerous body of troops opposed to them, they nevertheless ventured to charge, but were again driven back with great precipitation.

It was now eight o'clock in the morning, but nothing decisive had been effected on either side. About this time the British had spent the whole of their ammunition; and not being able to procure an immediate supply, owing to the distance of the ordnance-stores, their fire ceased, — a circumstance which surprised the enemy, who, ignorant of the cause, ascribed the cessation to design. Meanwhile, the French kept up a heavy and constant cannonade from their great guns, and a straggling fire from their sharpshooters in the hollows, and behind some sand-hills in front of the redoubt and ruins. The army suffered greatly from the fire of the enemy, particularly the Highlanders, and the right of General Stuart's brigade, who were exposed to its full effect, being posted on a level piece of ground over which the cannon-shot rolled after striking the ground, and carried off a file of men at every successive rebound. Yet notwithstanding this havoc no man moved from his position except to close up the gap made by the shot, when his right or left hand man was struck down.

At this stage of the battle the proceedings of the centre may be shortly detailed. The enemy pushed forward a heavy column of infantry, before the dawn of day, towards the position occupied by the guards. After allowing them to approach very close to his front, General Ludlow ordered his fire to be opened, and his orders were executed with such effect, that the enemy retired with precipitation. Foiled in this attempt, they next endeavoured to turn the left of the position; but they were received and driven back with such spirit by

the Royals and the right wing of the 54th, that they desisted from all further attempts to carry it. They, however, kept up an irregular fire from their cannon and sharpshooters, which did some execution. As General Regnier, who commanded the right of the French line, did not advance, the left of the British was never engaged. He made up for this forbearance by keeping up a heavy cannonade, which did considerable injury.

Emboldened by the temporary cessation of the British fire on the right, the French sharpshooters came close to the redoubt; but they were thwarted in their designs by the opportune arrival of ammunition. A fire was immediately opened from the redoubt, which made them retreat with expedition. The whole line followed, and by ten o'clock the enemy had resumed their original position in front of Alexandria. After this, the enemy despairing of success, gave up all idea of renewing the attack, and the loss of the commander-in-chief, among other considerations, made the British desist from any attempt to force the enemy to engage again.

Sir Ralph Abercromby, who had taken his station in front early in the day between the right of the Highlanders and the left of the redoubt, having detached the whole of his staff, was left alone. In this situation two of the enemy's dragoons dashed forward, and drawing up on each side, attempted to lead him away prisoner. In a struggle which ensued, he received a blow on the breast; but with the vigour and strength of arm for which he was distinguished, he seized the sabre of one of his assailants, and forced it out of his hand. A corporal of the 42d, coming up to his support at this instant, shot one of the dragoons, and the other retired. The general afterward dismounted from his horse, though with difficulty; but no person knew that he was wounded, till some of the staff who joined him observed the blood

trickling down his thigh. A musket-ball had entered his groin, and lodged deep in the hip-joint. Notwithstanding the acute pain which a wound in such a place must have occasioned, he had, during the interval between the time he had been wounded and the last charge of cavalry, walked with a firm and steady step along the line of the Highlanders and General Stuart's brigade, to the position of the guards in the centre of the line, where, from its elevated position, he had a full view of the whole field of battle, and from which place he gave his orders as if nothing had happened to him. In his anxiety about the result of the battle, he seemed to forget that he had been hurt; but after victory had declared in favour of the British army, he became alive to the danger of his situation, and in a state of exhaustion, lay down on a little sand-hill near the battery.

In this situation he was surrounded by the generals and a number of officers. The soldiers were to be seen crowding round this melancholy group at a respectful distance, pouring out blessings on his head, and prayers for his recovery. His wound was now examined, and a large incision was made to extract the ball; but it could not be found. After this operation he was put upon a litter, and carried on board the *Fondroyant*, Lord Keith's ship, where he died on the morning of the twenty-eighth of March. "As his life was honourable, so his death was glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country, will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the memory of a grateful posterity."

The loss of the British, of whom scarcely six thousand were actually engaged, was not so great as might have been expected. Besides the commander-in-chief, there were killed ten officers, nine sergeants, and 224 rank and file; and sixty officers, forty-eight sergeants, three drum-

mers, and 1,082 rank and file, were wounded. Of the Royal Highlanders, Brevet-Major Robert Bisset, Lieutenants Colin Campbell, Robert Anderson, Alexander Stewart, Alexander Donaldson, and Archibald M'Nicol, and forty-eight rank and file, were killed; and Major James Stirling, Captain David Stewart, Lieutenant Hamilton Rose, J. Milford Sutherland, A. M. Cuningham, Frederick Campbell, Maxwell Grant, Ensign William Mackenzie, six sergeants, and 247 rank and file wounded. As the 42d regiment was more exposed than any of the other regiments engaged, and sustained the brunt of the battle, their loss was nearly three times the aggregate amount of the loss of all the other regiments of the reserve. The total loss of the French was about four thousand men.

General Hutchinson, on whom the command of the British army now devolved, remained in the position before Alexandria for some time, during which a detachment under Colonel Spencer took possession of Rosetta. Having strengthened his position between Alexandria and Aboukir, General Hutchinson transferred his headquarters to Rosetta, with a view to proceed against Rhamanieh, an important post, commanding the passage of the Nile, and preserving the communication between Alexandria and Cairo. The general left his camp on the fifth of May to attack Rhamanieh; but although defended by four thousand infantry, eight hundred cavalry, and thirty-two pieces of cannon, the place was evacuated by the enemy on his approach.

The commander-in-chief proceeded to Cairo, and took up a position four miles from that city, on the sixteenth of June. Belliard, the French general, who had a force of thirteen thousand men under him in the town, of whom 10,850 were French, might have made a formidable resistance; but he had made up his mind to capitulate

whenever he could do so with honour; and accordingly, on the twenty-second of June, when the British had nearly completed their approaches, he offered to surrender, on condition of his army being sent to France with their arms, baggage, and effects.

Nothing now remained to render the conquest of Egypt complete, but the reduction of Alexandria. Returning from Cairo, General Hutchinson proceeded to invest that city. Whilst General Coote, with nearly half the army, approached to the westward of the town, the general himself advanced from the eastward. General Menou, anxious for the honour of the French arms, at first disputed the advances made towards his lines; but finding himself surrounded on two sides by an army of 14,500 men, by the sea on the north, and cut off from the country on the south by a lake which had been formed by breaking down the dike between the Nile and Alexandria, he applied for, and obtained, on the evening of the twenty-sixth of August, an armistice of three days. On the second of September the capitulation was signed, the terms agreed upon being much the same with those granted to General Belliard.

The number of the French troops reëmbarked for France, in terms of the capitulations of Cairo and Alexandria, was 27,482, showing a deficit out of the original force, when the British landed, of about seven thousand men by war and sickness, after a campaign of about five months.

After the French were embarked, immediate arrangements were made for settling in quarters the troops that were to remain in the country, and to embark those destined for other stations. Among these last were the three Highland regiments. The 42d regiment landed at Southampton, and marched to Winchester. With the exception of those who were affected with

ophthalmia, all the men were healthy. At Winchester, however, the men caught a contagious fever, of which Captain Lamont and several privates died.

"At this period," says General Stewart, "a circumstance occurred which caused some conversation, and to which I have alluded in a note,[8] on the French standard taken at Alexandria. The Highland Society of London, much gratified with the accounts given of the conduct of their countrymen in Egypt, resolved to bestow on them some mark of their esteem and approbation. The society being composed of men of the first rank and character in Scotland, and including several of the royal family as members, it was considered that such an act would be honourable to the corps and agreeable to all. It was proposed to commence with the 42d as the oldest of the Highland regiments, and with the others in succession, as their service offered an opportunity of distinguishing themselves. Fifteen hundred pounds were immediately subscribed for this purpose. Medals were struck with a head of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and some emblematical figures on the obverse. A superb piece of plate was likewise ordered. While these were in preparation, the society held a meeting, when Sir John Sinclair, with the warmth of a clansman, mentioned his namesake, Sergeant Sinclair, as having taken or having got possession of the French standard, which had been brought home. Sir John, being at that time ignorant of the circumstances, made no mention of the loss of the ensign which the sergeant had gotten in charge. This called forth the claim of Lutz, a soldier of Stuart's regiment, accompanied with some strong remarks by Cobbett, the editor of the work in which the claim appeared. The society then asked an explanation from the officers of the 42d regiment. To this very proper request a reply was given by the offi-

cers who were then present with the regiment. The majority of these happened to be young men, who expressed, in warm terms, their surprise that the society should imagine them capable of countenancing any statement implying that they had laid claim to a trophy to which they had no right. This misapprehension of the society's meaning brought on a correspondence, which ended in an interruption of farther communication for many years. By this unfortunate misunderstanding, a check was given to the intention of the society to present marks of their esteem to those of their countrymen who, either in collective bodies as regiments, or individually, had distinguished themselves, and contributed, by their actions, to support the military character of Scotland. The approbation of such a body as the Highland Society of London, composed of men of the first rank and talent, and every way competent to appreciate the character and actions of our national corps, would unquestionably have acted as an incitement to the youth of the north to establish future claims to their notice. That a purpose so well intended should have suffered a temporary interruption was therefore a matter of regret.

"However, as a prelude to a fresh correspondence and intimacy between the society and the Highland regiments, the communication with the 42d was again renewed in 1816. I was then one of the vice-presidents of the society; and being in the full knowledge of the circumstances, although absent from the regiment when the first correspondence took place, and knowing that the whole originated in mistake and misapprehension, I was requested by the society to open a communication with the regiment. This ended in a complete understanding; and on the anniversary of the battle of Alexandria, the twenty-first of March, 1817, his Royal

Highness the Duke of York, then president of the Highland Society, in the chair, presented the Marquis of Huntly, on behalf of the 42d regiment, with a superb piece of plate, in token of the respect of the society for a corps which, for more than seventy years, had contributed to uphold the martial character of their country. This his Royal Highness accompanied with an impressive speech, in which he recapitulated the various services of the corps, from the battle of Fontenoy, down to those of Quatre Bras and Waterloo."

In May, 1802, the regiment marched to Ashford, where they were reviewed by George III, who expressed himself satisfied with the appearance of the regiment; but although the men had a martial air, they had a diminutive look, and were by no means equal to their predecessors, either in bodily appearance or in complexion.

Shortly after this review the regiment was ordered to Edinburgh. During their march to the north, the men were everywhere received with kindness; and, on approaching the northern metropolis, thousands of its inhabitants met them at a distance from the city, and, welcoming them with acclamations, accompanied them to the castle. They remained in their new quarters, giving way too freely to the temptations to which they were exposed, by the hospitality of the inhabitants, till the spring of 1803, when, in consequence of the interruption of peace, they were embarked at Leith for the camp then forming at Weeley in Essex. The regiment at this time did not exceed four hundred men, in consequence, chiefly, of the discharge of 475 men the preceding year.

As a means at once of providing for the internal defence of the kingdom, and recruiting the regular army, an act was passed to raise a body of men by ballot, to

be called "The Army of Reserve." Their services were to be confined to Great Britain and Ireland, with liberty to volunteer into the regular army, on a certain bounty. In the first instance, the men thus raised in Scotland were formed into second battalions to regiments of the line. The quota raised in the counties of Perth, Elgin, Nairn, Cromarty, Ross, Sutherland, Caithness, Argyle, and Bute, which was to form the second battalion of the 42d, amounted to 1,343 men. These embarked in November at Fort George, to join the first battalion in Weeley barracks, about which time upwards of five hundred had volunteered into the regular army. In April of this year Captain David Stewart, Garth, was appointed major, and Lieutenants Robert Henry Dick and Charles M'Lean, captains to the second battalion of the 78th regiment. In September following, Colonel Dickson was appointed brigadier-general; and Lieutenant-Colonels James Stewart and Alexander Stewart having retired, they were succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonels Stirling and Lord Blantyre. Captains M'Quarrie and James Grant became majors; Lieutenants Stewart Campbell, Donald Williamson, John M'Diarmid, John Dick, and James Walker, captains; and Captain Lord Saltoun was promoted to the foot-guards.

In consequence of the removal of a part of the garrison of Gibraltar, the first battalion of the 42d, and the second battalion of the 78th, or Seaforth's Highlanders, were marched to Plymouth, where they embarked early in October for Gibraltar, which they reached in November. Nothing worthy of notice occurred during their stay in Gibraltar. Since their former visit, the moral habits of the 42d had improved, and they did not fall into those excesses in drinking in which they had indulged when formerly at Gibraltar. The mortality consequently was not so great as before, — thirty-one only out of

850 men having died during the three years they remained at this station.

In 1806, Sir Hector Munro, the colonel of the regiment, died, and was succeeded by Major-General, the Marquis of Huntly, now Duke of Gordon. Sir Hector was a brave man; but he felt little interest in the regiment, and kept aloof from his officers and men; and to such an extent did he carry this reserve, that although both battalions were quartered a considerable time at Fort George, in the neighbourhood of which his country-seat was, he never came near them except once, when he stopped to change horses in the garrison on his way to London.

After the battle of Vimiera, which was fought on the twenty-first of August, 1808, the British army was joined by the 42d regiment from Gibraltar, then 624 men strong, and by the Gordon and Cameron Highlanders from England. Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had gained the battle, was superseded the same day by two senior generals, Sir Harry Burrard and Sir John Moore, who were, strange to tell, again superseded by General Sir Hew Dalrymple the following morning. Generals Burrard and Dalrymple having been recalled in consequence of the convention of Cintra, the command of the army devolved on Sir John Moore, who, on the sixth of October, received an order to march into Spain. Having made no previous preparations for marching, the advance of the army from Lisbon was retarded; and as he could obtain little assistance from the Portuguese government, and no correct information of the state of the country, or of the proper route he ought to take, he was obliged to act almost entirely upon conjecture. Conceiving it impossible to convey artillery by the road through the mountains, he resolved to divide his army and to march into Spain by different routes.

One of these, consisting of the brigade of artillery and

four regiments of infantry, of which the 42d was one, under the Hon. Lieutenant-General Hope, marched upon Madrid and Espinar; another, under General Paget, moved by Elvas and Alcantara; a third by Coimbra and Almeida, under General Beresford; and a fourth, under General Mackenzie Fraser, by Abrantes and Almeida. These divisions, amounting together to eighteen thousand infantry and nine hundred cavalry, were to form a junction at Salamanca. General Moore reached Salamanca on the thirteenth of November, without seeing a single Spanish soldier. The armies which he had expected to find were either dispersed or removed to too great a distance for coöperation, and the people themselves seemed to take no interest in the war. Whilst on the march, Lieutenant-General Sir David Baird arrived off Corunna with a body of troops from England, for the purpose of forming a junction with General Moore; but his troops were kept on board from the thirteenth to the thirty-first of October, and, when allowed to disembark, no exertions were made by the Spaniards to forward his march.

Whilst waiting the junction of General Baird and the division of General Hope, which, from its circuitous route, was the last of the four in reaching Salamanca, General Moore received intelligence of the defeat and total dispersion of General Blake's army on the tenth of November, at Espenora de los Monteros, as well as of a similar fate which subsequently befell the army of General Castanos at Tudela. No Spanish army now remained in the field except the corps under the Marquis of Romana, but acting independently, it tended rather to obstruct than forward the plans of the British commander.

It was now the first of December. General Baird had reached Astorga, and General Hope's division was still

four days' march from Salamanca. Beset by accumulated difficulties, and threatened with an army already amounting to a hundred thousand men, and about to be increased by additional reinforcements, General Moore resolved on a retreat, though such a measure was opposed to the opinion of many officers of rank. Whilst he himself was to fall back upon Lisbon, he ordered Sir David Baird to retire to Corunna, and embark for the Tagus. He afterward countermanded the order for retreat, on receiving some favourable accounts from the interior, but having soon ascertained that these were not to be relied on, he resumed his original intention of retiring. Instead of proceeding, however, towards Lisbon, he determined to retreat to the north of Spain, with the view of joining General Baird. This junction he effected at Toro on the twenty-first of December. Their united forces amounted to 26,311 infantry, and 2,450 cavalry, besides artillery.

The general resolved to attack Marshal Soult at Saldanha; but after making his dispositions, he gave up his determination, in consequence of information that Soult had received considerable reinforcements; that Buonaparte had marched from Madrid with forty thousand infantry and cavalry; and that Marshals Junot, Mortier, and Lefebre, with their different divisions, were also on their march towards the north of Spain. The retreat was begun on the twenty-fourth of December, on which day the advanced guard of Buonaparte's division passed through Tordesillas.

When ordered again to retreat, the greatest disappointment was manifested by the troops, who, enraged at the apathy shown by the people, gratified their feelings of revenge by acts of insubordination and plunder hitherto unheard of in a British army. To such an extent did they carry their ravages, that they obtained

the name of "malditos ladrones," or cursed robbers, from the unfortunate inhabitants. The following extract of general orders, issued at Benevente on the twenty-seventh of December, shows how acutely the gallant Moore felt the disgrace which the conduct of his troops brought on the British name. "The Commander of the Forces has observed, with concern, the extreme bad conduct of the troops, at a moment when they are about to come into contact with the enemy, and when the greatest regularity and the best conduct are most requisite. The misbehaviour of the troops in the column which marched from Valderas to this place exceeds what he could have believed of British soldiers. It is disgraceful to the officers, as it strongly marks their negligence and inattention. The Commander of the Forces refers to the general orders of the fifteenth of October and of the eleventh of November. He desires that they may be again read at the head of every company in the army. He can add nothing but his determination to execute them to the fullest extent. He can feel no mercy towards officers who neglect, in times like these, essential duties, or towards soldiers who injure the country they are sent to protect. It is impossible for the general to explain to his army his motive for the movements he directs. When it is proper to fight a battle he will do it, and he will choose the time and place he thinks most fit. In the meantime, he begs the officers and soldiers of the army to attend diligently to discharge their part, and leave to him and to the general officers the decision of measures which belong to them alone."

It is quite unnecessary, in a work of this nature, to give the details of this memorable retreat. Suffice it to say, that after a series of brilliant and successful rencounters with the enemy, and after enduring the most extraordinary privations, the British army arrived

in the neighbourhood of Corunna on the eleventh of January, 1809. Had the transports been at Corunna, the troops might have embarked without molestation, as the French general did not push forward with vigour from Lago; but, as they had to wait the arrival of transports from Vigo, the enemy had full time to come up. The inhabitants showed the greatest kindness to the troops, and in conjunction with them exerted themselves with much assiduity to put the town in a proper state of defence.

On the land side Corunna is surrounded by a double range of hills, a higher and a lower. As the outward or higher range was too extensive, the British were formed on the inner or lower range. The French on their arrival took post on the higher range.

Several of the transports having arrived on the fourteenth, the sick, the cavalry, and part of the artillery, were embarked. Next day was spent in skirmishing, with little loss on either side; but on the sixteenth, affairs assumed a more serious aspect. After midday, the enemy were seen getting under arms. The British drew up immediately in line of battle. General Hope's division occupied the left. It consisted of Major-General Hill's brigade of the queen's, 14th, 32d, and Colonel Crawford's brigade of the 36th, 71st, and 92d or Gordon Highlanders. On the right of the line was the division of General Baird, consisting of Lord William Bentinck's brigade of the 4th, 42d or Royal Highlanders, and 50th regiment; and Major-General Manningham's brigade of the third battalion of the royals, 26th or Cameronians, and second battalion of the 81st; and Major-General Ward with the first and second battalions of the foot-guards. The other battalions of guards were in reserve, in rear of Lord William Bentinck's brigade. The rifle corps formed a chain across a valley on the right of Sir

Lord Macdonald

Earl Duffus

Drummond

Urquhart

Macleod of Macleod

Fishelm

David Baird, communicating with Lieutenant-General Fraser's division, which was drawn up in the rear at a short distance from Corunna. The division was composed of the 6th, 9th, 23d or Welsh fusileers, and second battalion of the 43d, under Major-General Beresford; and the 36th, 79th or Cameron Highlanders, and 82d, under Brigadier-General Fane. General Paget's brigade of reserve formed in rear of the left. It consisted of the 20th, 28th, 52d, 91st, and rifle corps. The whole force under arms amounted to nearly sixteen thousand men.

The battle was begun by the enemy, who, after a discharge of artillery, advanced upon the British in four columns. Two of these moved towards General Baird's wing, a third advanced upon the centre, and a fourth against the left. The enemy kept a fifth column as a reserve in the rear. On the approach of the French the British advanced to meet them. The 50th regiment, under Majors Napier and Stanhope, two young officers who had been trained up under the general's own eye, passing over an enclosure in front, charged and drove the enemy out of the village of Elvina, with great loss. General Moore, who was at the post occupied by Lord William Bentinck's brigade, directing every movement, on observing the brave conduct of the regiment, exclaimed, "Well done the 50th — well done my majors!" Then proceeding to the 42d, he cried out, "Highlanders, remember Egypt." They thereupon rushed forward, accompanied by the general, and drove back the enemy in all directions. He now ordered up a battalion of the guards to the left flank of the Highlanders. The light company conceiving, as their ammunition was spent, that the guards were to relieve them, began to fall back; but Sir John, discovering their mistake, said to them, "My brave 42d, join your com-

rades, — ammunition is coming, — you have your bayonets." This was enough.

Sir David Baird about this time was forced to leave the field, in consequence of his arm being shattered by a musket ball, and immediately thereafter a cannon ball struck Sir John Moore in the left shoulder and beat him to the ground. "He raised himself and sat up with an unaltered countenance, looking intensely at the Highlanders, who were warmly engaged. Captain Harding threw himself from his horse and took him by the hand; then observing his anxiety, he told him the 42d were advancing, upon which his countenance immediately brightened up."

After the general and Sir David Baird had been carried off the field, the command of the army devolved upon Lieutenant-General Hope, who, at the close of the battle, addressed a letter to the latter, from which the following is an extract: "The first effort of the enemy was met by the commander of the forces and by yourself, at the head of the 42d regiment, and the brigade under Lord William Bentinck. The village on your right became an object of obstinate contest. I lament to say that, after the severe wound which deprived the army of your services, Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, who had just directed the most able disposition, fell by a cannon-shot. The troops, though not unacquainted with the irreparable loss they had sustained, were not dismayed, but by the most determined bravery not only repelled every attempt of the enemy to gain ground, but actually forced him to retire, although he had brought up fresh troops in support of those originally engaged. The enemy, finding himself foiled in every attempt to force the right of the position, endeavoured by numbers to turn it. A judicious and well-timed movement which was made by Major-General Paget with the reserve,

which corps had moved out of its cantonments to support the right of the army, by a vigorous attack defeated this intention. The major-general having pushed forward the 95th (rifle corps) and the first battalion of the 52d regiment, drove the enemy before him, and in his rapid and judicious advance threatened the left of the enemy's position. This circumstance, with the position of Lieutenant-General Fraser's division (calculated to give still farther security to the right of the line), induced the enemy to relax his efforts in that quarter. They were however more forcibly directed towards the centre, when they were again successfully resisted by the brigade under Major-General Manningham, forming the left of your division, and a part of that under Major-General Leith, forming the right of that under my orders. Upon the left the enemy at first contented himself with an attack upon our piquets, which however in general maintained their ground. Finding, however, his efforts unavailing on the right and centre, he seemed determined to render the attack upon the left more serious, and had succeeded in obtaining possession of the village through which the great road to Madrid passes, and which was situated in front of that part of the line. From this post, however, he was soon expelled, with a considerable loss, by a gallant attack of some companies of the second battalion of the 14th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Nicholls. Before five in the evening, we had not only successfully repelled every attack made upon the position, but had gained ground in almost all points, and occupied a more forward line than at the commencement of the action; whilst the enemy confined his operations to a cannonade, and the fire of his light troops, with a view to draw off his other corps. At six the firing ceased."

The loss of the British was eight hundred men killed

and wounded. The 42d regiment had one sergeant and thirty-six rank and file killed: and six officers, viz., Captains Duncan Campbell, John Fraser, and Maxwell Grant, and Lieutenants Alexander Anderson, William Middleton, and Thomas Macinnes; one sergeant, and 104 rank and file wounded. The enemy lost upwards of three thousand men, — a remarkable disproportion, when it is considered that the British troops fought under many disadvantages.

Though the victory was gained, General Hope did not consider it advisable, under existing circumstances, to risk another battle, and therefore issued orders for the immediate embarkation of the army. By the great exertions of the naval officers and seamen, the whole, with the exception of the rear-guard, were on board before the morning; and the rear-guard, with the sick and wounded, were all embarked the following day.

General Moore did not long survive the action. When he fell he was removed, with the assistance of a soldier of the 42d, a few yards behind the shelter of a wall. He was afterward carried to the rear in a blanket by six soldiers of the 42d and guards. When borne off the field his aide-de-camp, Captain Harding, observing the resolution and composure of his features, expressed his hopes that the wound was not mortal, and that he would still be spared to the army. Turning his head round, and looking steadfastly at the wound for a few seconds, the dying commander said, "No, Harding; I feel that to be impossible." A sergeant of the 42d and two spare files, in case of accident, were ordered to conduct their brave general to Corunna. Whilst carried slowly along, he made the soldiers turn frequently round, that he might view the field of battle and listen to the firing. As the sound grew fainter, an indication that the enemy were

retiring, his countenance evinced the satisfaction he felt. In a few hours he was numbered with the dead.

Thus died, in the prime of life, one of the most accomplished and bravest soldiers that ever adorned the British army. "From his youth he embraced the profession with the sentiments and feelings of a soldier. He felt that a perfect knowledge and an exact performance of the humble but important duties of a subaltern officer are the best foundation for subsequent military fame. In the school of regimental duty, he obtained that correct knowledge of his profession, so essential to the proper direction of the gallant spirit of the soldier; and was enabled to establish a characteristic order and regularity of conduct, because the troops found in their leader a striking example of the discipline which he enforced on others. In a military character, obtained amidst the dangers of climate, the privations incident to service, and the sufferings of repeated wounds, it is difficult to select any point as a preferable subject for praise. The life of Sir John Moore was spent among his troops. During the season of repose, his time was devoted to the care and instruction of the officer and soldier; in war, he courted service in every quarter of the globe. Regardless of personal considerations, he esteemed that to which his country called him, the post of honour; and, by his undaunted spirit and unconquerable perseverance, he pointed the way to victory."

General Moore had been often heard to express a wish that he might die in battle like a soldier; and, like a soldier, he was interred in his full uniform, in a bastion in the garrison of Corunna.

When the embarkation of the army was completed it sailed for England. One division, in which the 42d was, landed at Portsmouth. Another disembarked at Plymouth.

The regiment was now brigaded at Shorncliffe with the rifle corps, under the command of Major-General Sir Thomas Graham. As the second battalion, which had been in Ireland since 1805, was about to embark for Portugal, they could obtain no draughts from it to supply the casualties which they had suffered in the late retreat and the loss at Corunna, but these were speedily made up otherwise.

The 42d was next employed in the disastrous expedition to Walcheren, and returned to Dover in September, 1809, having only 204 men fit for duty out of 758, who, about six weeks before, had left the shores of England. The regiment marched to Canterbury on the eleventh of September, where it remained till July, 1810, when it was removed to Scotland, and quartered in Musselburgh. The men had recovered very slowly from the Walcheren fever, and many of them still suffered under its influence. During their stay at Musselburgh, the men unfortunately indulged themselves to excess in the use of ardent spirits, a practice which would have destroyed the health of the men, had not a change of duty put an end to this baneful practice.

CHAPTER IV

FROM SALAMANCA TO WATERLOO

In August, 1811, the regiment sailed for England, and after remaining some time in Lewis barracks, embarked in April of the following year for Portugal. The ardour for recruiting had now ceased, and the consequence was that the regiment obtained few recruits while in Scotland. Lieutenant-Colonel Lord Blantyre, the commander of the second battalion, had experienced the growing indifference of the Highlanders for the army, having been obliged, before his departure for Portugal, to enlist 150 men from the Irish militia. The first battalion joined the army, under Lord Wellington, after the capture of Cuidad Rodrigo and Badajoz, and meeting with the second battalion, they were both consolidated. The second battalion, which had been two years in the Peninsula, was actively engaged at Fuentes d'Honoro, in May, 1811, and had maintained the good character of the regiment during its whole service.

On the consolidation of the two battalions, the officers and staff of the second were ordered to England, leaving the first upwards of 1,160 rank and file fit for service. These were placed in the division under Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Graham. The allied army now amounted to fifty-eight thousand men, being larger than any single division of the enemy, whose whole force exceeded 160,000 men.

After a successful attack on Almarez by a division of the army under General Hill, Lord Wellington moved

forward and occupied Salamanca, which the French evacuated on his approach, leaving eight hundred men behind to garrison the fort, and retain possession of two redoubts formed from the walls and ruins of some convents and colleges. After a gallant defence of some days, the fort and redoubts surrendered on the twenty-seventh of June.

Whilst the siege was proceeding, Marshal Marmont manœuvred in the neighbourhood; but not being yet prepared for a general action, he retired across the Douro, and took up a position on the twenty-second from La Seca to Pollos. By the accession of a reinforcement from the Asturias, and another from the army of the centre, the marshal's force was increased to nearly sixty thousand men. Judging himself now able to cope with the allied army, he resolved either to bring Lord Wellington to action, or force him to retire towards Portugal, by threatening his communication with that country. By combining with Marshal Soult from the south, he expected to be able to intercept his retreat and cut him off. Marmont did not, however, venture to recross the Douro, but commenced a series of masterly manœuvres, with the view of ensnaring his adversary. Alluding to this display of tactics, the *Moniteur* remarked that "there were seen those grand French military combinations which command victory, and decide the fate of empires; that noble audacity which no reverse can shake, and which commands events." These movements were met with corresponding skill on the part of the British general, who baffled all the designs of his skilful opponent. Several accidental rencounters took place in the various changes of positions, in which both sides suffered considerably.

Tired of these evolutions, Lord Wellington crossed the Guarena on the night of the nineteenth of July, and on

the morning of the twentieth drew up his army in order of battle on the plains of Valisa; but Marmont declined the challenge, and, crossing the river, encamped with his left at Babila Fuentes, and his right at Villameda. This manœuvre was met by a corresponding movement on the part of the allies, who marched to their right in columns along the plain, in a direction parallel to the enemy, who were on the heights of Cabeca Vilhosa. In this and the other movements of the British, the sagacity of the commander-in-chief appeared so strange to a plain Highlander, who had paid particular attention to them, that he swore Lord Wellington must be gifted with the second sight, as he saw and was prepared to meet Marmont's intended changes of position before he commenced his movements.

The allied army were now on the same ground they had occupied near Salamanca, when reducing the forts the preceding month; but in consequence of the enemy crossing the Tormes at Alba de Tormes, and appearing to threaten Cuidad Rodrigo, Lord Wellington made a corresponding movement, and on the twenty-first halted his army on the heights on the left bank. During the night the enemy possessed themselves of the village of Calvarasa de Ariba, and the heights of Nuestra Señora de la Pena. In the course of this night, Lord Wellington received intelligence that General Clausel had reached Pollos with a large body of cavalry, and would certainly join Marmont on the twenty-third or twenty-fourth.

The morning of the twenty-second, a day memorable in the annals of the Peninsular war, was ushered in with a violent tempest, and a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning. The operations of the day commenced soon after seven o'clock, when the outposts of both armies attempted to get possession of two hills, Los Arapiles,

on the right of the allies. The enemy, by his numerical superiority, succeeded in possessing himself of the most distant of these hills, and thus greatly strengthened his position. With his accustomed skill, Marmont manœuvred until two o'clock, when imagining that he had succeeded in drawing the allies into a snare, he opened a general fire from his artillery along his whole line, and threw out numerous bodies of sharpshooters, both in front and flank, as a feint to cover an attempt he meditated to turn the position of the British. This ruse was thrown away on Lord Wellington, who, acting on the defensive only, to become, in his turn, the assailant with the more effect, and perceiving at once the grand error of his antagonist in extending his line to the left, without strengthening his centre, which had now no second line to support it, made immediate preparations for a general attack; and, with his characteristic determination of purpose, took advantage of that unfortunate moment, which, as the French commander observed, "destroyed the result of six weeks of wise combinations of methodical movements, the issue of which had hitherto appeared certain, and which everything appeared to presage to us that we should enjoy the fruit of."

The arrangements were these. Major-General Pakenham, with the third division, was ordered to turn the left of the enemy, whilst he was to be attacked in front by the divisions of Generals Leith, Cole, Bradford, and Cotton, — those of Generals Clinton, Hope, and Don Carlos de Espana acting as a reserve. The divisions under Generals Alexander Campbell and Alten were to form the left of the line. Whilst this formation was in progress, the enemy did not alter his previous position, but made an unsuccessful attempt to get possession of the village of Arapiles, held by a detachment of the guards.

About four o'clock in the afternoon the attack commenced. General Pakenham, supported by the Portuguese cavalry, and some squadrons of the 14th dragoons under Colonel Harvey, carried all their respective points of attack. The divisions in the centre were equally successful, driving the enemy from one height to another. They however received a momentary check from a body of troops from the heights of Arapiles. A most obstinate struggle took place at this post. Having descended from the heights which they occupied, the British dashed across the intervening valley and ascended a hill, on which they found the enemy most advantageously posted, formed in solid squares, the front ranks kneeling, and supported by twenty pieces of cannon. On the approach of the British, the enemy opened a fire from their cannon and musketry, but this, instead of retarding, seemed to accelerate the progress of the assailants. Gaining the brow of the hill, they instantly charged, and drove the enemy before them; a body of them attempting to rally, were thrown into utter confusion by a second charge with the bayonet. A general rout now took place, and night alone saved the French army from utter annihilation.

Seven thousand prisoners and eleven pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the victors; but the loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was not ascertained. General Marmont himself was wounded, and many of his officers were killed or disabled. The loss of the allies was 624 killed, and about four thousand wounded.

Among other important results to which this victory led, not the least was the appointment of Lord Wellington as generalissimo of the Spanish armies, by which he was enabled to direct and control the operations of the whole Spanish forces, which had hitherto acted as independent corps.

The allied army pushed forward to Madrid, and, after various movements and skirmishes, entered that city on the twelfth of August, amid the acclamations of the inhabitants. Learning that General Clausel, who had succeeded Marshal Marmont in the command, had organized an army, and threatened some of the British positions on the Douro, Lord Wellington left Madrid on the first of September, and marching northward, entered Valladolid on the seventh, the enemy retiring as he advanced. Being joined by Castanos, the Spanish general, with an army of twelve thousand foot, he took up a position close to Burgos, in which the enemy had left a garrison of twenty-five hundred men. The castle was in ruins, but the strong thick wall of the ancient keep was equal to the best casements, and it was strengthened by a horn-work which had been erected on Mount St. Michael. A church had also been converted into a fort, and the whole enclosed within three lines, so connected, that each could defend the other. Preliminary to an attack on the castle, the possession of the horn-work was necessary. Accordingly, on the evening of the nineteenth of September, the light infantry of General Stirling's brigade having driven in the outposts, took possession of the outworks close to the mount. When dark it was attacked by the same troops, supported by the 42d, and carried by assault.

On the twenty-ninth an unsuccessful attempt was made to spring a mine under the enemy's works, but on the fourth of October another mine was exploded with better effect. The second battalion of the 24th regiment established themselves within the exterior line of the castle, but were soon obliged to retire. The enemy made two vigorous sorties on the eighth, drove back the covering parties, and damaged the works of the besiegers, who sustained considerable loss. A third

mine was exploded on the thirteenth, when the troops attempted an assault, but without success. The last attack, a most desperate one, was made on the nineteenth, but with as little success; two days after which, Lord Wellington, to the great disappointment of the besiegers, ordered the siege, which had lasted thirty days, to be raised, in consequence of the expected advance of a French army of eighty thousand men. The loss sustained by the 42d regiment in this siege was three officers, two sergeants, and forty-four rank and file killed, and six officers, eleven sergeants, one drummer, and 230 rank and file wounded. The officers killed were Lieutenants R. Ferguson and P. Milne, and Ensign David Cullen; those wounded were Captains Donald Williamson (who died of his wounds), Archibald Menzies, and George Davidson, Lieutenants Hugh Angus Fraser, James Stewart, and Robert Mackinnon.

Whilst Lord Wellington was besieging Burgos, the enemy had been concentrating their forces, and on the twentieth of October, his lordship received intelligence of the advance of the French army. Joseph Buonaparte, newly raised by his brother to the throne of Spain, was, with one division, to cut off Lord Wellington's communication with General Hill's division between Aranjuez and Toledo, and another, commanded by General Souham, was to raise the siege of Burgos. After the abandonment of the siege, on the twenty-first of October, the allied army retired after nightfall, unperceived by General Souham, who followed with a superior force, but did not overtake them till the evening of the twenty-third.

During this retrograde movement, the troops suffered greatly from the inclemency of the weather, from bad roads, but still more from the want of a regular supply of provisions; and the same irregularities and dis-

organization prevailed among them as in the retreat to Corunna. In the general orders which the commander-in-chief issued on the occasion, he stated that both divisions of the army indulged in a laxity of discipline to a greater degree "than any army with which he had ever served, or of which he had ever read." In continuation, he observed that "it must be obvious to every officer that, from the time the troops commenced their retreat from Burgos, on the one hand, and from Madrid on the other, the officers lost all command over their men. Irregularities and outrages of every description were committed with impunity." Much of this disorder has been ascribed to the impatience with which British soldiers bear a retreat, when influenced by the feeling that they are considered incapable of meeting an enemy, a feeling which makes them quickly lose their usual sense of duty and discipline. Pressed as they were in their rear by the enemy's cavalry, an arm in which the French were vastly superior, they nevertheless displayed their usual gallantry, and whenever the enemy appeared in sight, they seemed to forget all their privations, formed as they were ordered, and repulsed with vigour every attack.

The allied army retired upon Salamanca, and afterward to Frenada and Corea, on the frontiers of Portugal, where they took up their winter quarters. The enemy, apparently unable to advance, unwilling to retire, and renouncing the hope of victory, followed the example thus set. Subsequent events proved that this opinion, expressed at the time, was correct, "for every movement of the enemy after the campaign of 1812 was retrograde, every battle a defeat."

Having obtained a reinforcement of troops and abundant military supplies from England, Lord Wellington opened the campaign of 1813 by moving on Sala-

manca, of which, for the third time, the British troops took possession on the twenty-fourth of May. The division of Sir R. Hill was stationed between Tormes and the Douro, and the left wing, under Sir Thomas Graham, took post at Miranda de Douro. The enemy, who gave way as the allies advanced, evacuated Valladolid on the fourth of June, and General Hill having, on the twelfth, attacked and defeated a division of the French army under General Reille, the enemy hastened their retreat, and blew up the works of the castle of Burgos, on which they had expended much labour the preceding year.

The enemy fell back on Vittoria, followed by Lord Wellington, who drew up his army on the River Bayas, separated by some high grounds from Vittoria. His men were in the highest spirits, and the cheerfulness and alacrity with which they performed this long march, more than 250 miles, formed a favourable contrast with their conduct when retreating the previous year. The French army, under the command of Joseph Buonaparte and Marshal Jourdan, made a stand near Vittoria, for the purpose of defending the passage of the River Zadorra, having that town on their right, the centre on a height, commanding the valley of that stream, and the left resting on the heights between Arunez and Puebla de Arlanzon. The hostile armies were about seventy thousand men each.

On the morning of the twenty-first of June, the allied army moved forward in three columns to take possession of the heights in the front of Vittoria. The right wing was commanded by General Hill, the centre by General Cole, and the left wing by General Graham. The operations of the day commenced by General Hill attacking and carrying the heights of Puebla, on which the enemy's left rested. They made a violent attempt to regain possession, but they were driven back at all

points, and pursued across the Zadorra. Sir Rowland Hill, passing over the bridge of La Puebla, attacked and carried the village of Sabijana de Alava, of which he kept possession, notwithstanding repeated attempts of the enemy to regain it. The fourth and light divisions now crossed the Zadorra at different points, while, almost at the same instant of time, the column under Lord Dalhousie reached Mendonza; and the third, under Sir T. Picton, followed by the seventh division, crossed a bridge higher up. These four divisions, forming the centre of the army, were destined to attack the right of the enemy's centre on the heights, whilst General Hill pushed forward from Alava to attack the left. The enemy dreading the consequences of an attack on his centre, which he had weakened to strengthen his posts on the heights, abandoned his position, and commenced a rapid retreat to Vittoria.

Whilst these combined movements of the right and centre were in progress, the left wing, under Sir Thomas Graham, drove the enemy's right from the hills above Abechuco and Gamarra. To preserve their communication with Bayonne, which was nearly cut off by this movement, the enemy had occupied the villages of Gamarra, Mayor, and Menor, near which the great road touches the banks of the Zadorra. They were, however, driven from these positions by a Spanish division under Colonel Longa, and another of Portuguese under General Pack, supported by General Anson's cavalry brigade and the fifth division of infantry under General Oswald. General Graham, at the same time, attacked and obtained possession of the village of Abechuco.

Thus cut off from retreat by the great road to France, the enemy, as soon as the centre of the allies had penetrated to Vittoria, retreated with great precipitation towards Pampluna, the only other road left open, and

on which they had no fortified positions to cover their retrograde movement. The enemy left behind them all their stores and baggage, and out of 152 pieces of cannon, they carried off only one howitzer. General Hill, with his division, continued to pursue the panic-stricken French from one position to another till the seventh of July, when he took post on the summit of the pass of Maya, beyond the Pyrenees, "those lofty heights which," as Marshal Soult lamented, in a proclamation he issued, "enabled him proudly to survey our fertile valleys."

With the exception of Pampluna and St. Sebastian, the whole of this part of the north of Spain was now cleared of the enemy. To reduce these places was the next object. It was resolved to blockade the former and lay siege to the latter, which last-mentioned service was entrusted to General Graham. This was a most arduous task, as St. Sebastian was, in point of strength, next to Gibraltar.

The arrangements for the siege of St. Sebastian being completed, the batteries opened on the convent of St. Bartolomeo on the fourteenth of July, and on the seventeenth this stronghold, though fortified with a protecting work, and a steep hill on its left flank, was so completely destroyed, that General Graham ordered both to be stormed. The division of General Oswald carried these posts, though bravely defended by a strong body of men. Having made two breaches which were considered practicable, a party of two thousand men made an assault on the twenty-fifth; but after an obstinate contest they were recalled, after sustaining a very severe loss. The attention of the commander-in-chief being now directed to the movements of Marshal Soult, who was advancing with a large army, the siege of St. Sebastian was suspended for a time.

At this time the allied army occupied a range of mountain passes between the valley of Roncesvalles, celebrated as the field of Charlemagne's defeat, and St. Sebastian, but as the distance between these stations was sixty miles, it was found impossible so to guard all these passes as to prevent the entrance of an army. The passes occupied by the allies were defended by the following troops: Major-General Byng's brigade and a division of Spanish infantry held the valley of Roncesvalles, to support which General Cole's division was posted at Piscarret, with General Picton's in reserve at Olaque; the valley of Bastan and the pass of Maya was occupied by Sir Rowland Hill, with Lieutenant-General William Stewart's and Silviera's Portuguese divisions, and the Spanish corps under the Condé de Amaran; the Portuguese brigade of Brigadier-General Archibald Campbell was detached to Los Alduidos; the heights of St. Barbara, the town of Pera, and the Puerto de Echelar, were protected by Lord Dalhousie and Baron Alten's light division, Brigadier-general Pack's being in reserve at Estevan. The communication between Lord Dalhousie and General Graham was kept up by General Longa's Spanish division; and the Condé de Abisbal blockaded Pampluna.

Such were the positions of the allied army when Marshal Soult, who had been lately appointed to the command of a numerous French army, recently collected, having formed a plan of operations for a general attack on the allied army, advanced on the twenty-fifth of July at the head of a division of thirty-six thousand men against Roncesvalles, whilst General Count d'Erlon, with another division of thirteen thousand men, moved towards the pass of Maya. Pressed by this overwhelming force, General Byng was obliged, though supported by part of Sir Lowry Cole's division, to descend from the

heights that commanded the pass, in order to preserve his communication, in which situation he was attacked by Soult and driven back to the top of the mountain, whilst the troops on the ridge of Arola, part of Cole's division, were forced to retire with considerable loss, and to take up a position in the rear. General Cole was again obliged to retire, and fell back on Lizoain. Next day General Picton moved forward to support General Cole, but both were obliged to retire in consequence of Soult's advance.

Meanwhile Count d'Erlon forced the battalions occupying the narrow ridges near the pass of Maya to give way; but these being quickly supported by Brigadier-General Barnes's brigade, a series of spirited actions ensued, and the advance of the enemy was arrested. General Hill, hearing of the retrograde movement from Roncesvalles, retired behind the Irurita, and took up a strong position. On the twenty-seventh Sir Thomas Picton resumed his retreat. The troops were greatly dejected at this temporary reverse; but the arrival of Lord Wellington, who had been with the army before St. Sebastian, revived their drooping spirits. Immediately on his arrival he directed the troops in reserve to move forward to support the division opposed to the enemy. He formed General Picton's division on a ridge on the left bank of the Argua, and General Cole's on the high grounds between that river and the Lanz. To support the positions in front, General Hill was posted behind the Lizasso; but, on the arrival of General Pakenham on the twenty-eighth, he took post on the left of General Cole, facing the village of Sourarem; but before the British divisions had fully occupied the ground, they were vigorously attacked by the enemy from the village. The enemy were, however, driven back with great loss.

Soult next brought forward a strong column, and advancing up the hill against the centre of the allies, on the left of General Cole's line, obtained possession of that post, but he was almost immediately driven back at the point of the bayonet by the Fusileers. The French renewed the attack, but were again quickly repulsed. About the same time, another attack was made on the right of the centre, where a Spanish brigade, supported by the 40th, was posted. The Spaniards gave way, but the 40th not only kept their ground, but drove the enemy down the hill with great loss.

The enemy pushing forward in separate bodies with great vigour, the battle now became general along the whole front of the heights occupied by the fourth division, but they were repulsed at all points, except one occupied by a Portuguese battalion, which was overpowered and obliged to give way. The occupation of this post by the enemy exposed the flank of Major-General Ross's brigade, immediately on the right, to a destructive fire, which forced him to retire. The enemy were, however, soon dispossessed of this post by Colonel John Maclean, who, advancing with the 27th and 48th regiments, charged and drove them from it, and immediately afterward attacked and charged another body of the enemy who were advancing from the left. The enemy persevered in his attacks several times, but was as often repulsed, principally by the bayonet. Several regiments charged four different times.

The division of Lord Dalhousie, from the left, having reinforced the centre the following day, Soult withdrew a part of his troops from his strong position in front of the allies, with the intention of turning the left of their position. Though the position occupied by Soult in front appeared almost impregnable, yet Lord Wellington resolved, after this reduction of Soult's force, to

attempt it. Accordingly, on the morning of the thirtieth, Lord Dalhousie made a well-conducted attack on the heights on the right, which was performed with great bravery by Brigadier-General Inglis's brigade. Sir Thomas Picton, during this operation, turned their left, whilst General Pakenham, at the same time, drove them from the village of Ostiz. These successful attacks were followed up by one made in front by General Cole's division, upon which the enemy, to use the words of Lord Wellington, "abandoned a position which is one of the strongest and most difficult of access that I have yet seen occupied by troops." The enemy were now pursued beyond Olaque, in the vicinity of which General Hill, who had been engaged the whole day, had repulsed all the attacks of Count d'Erlon.

The enemy endeavoured to rally in their retreat, but were driven from one position to another till the second of August, when the allies had regained all the posts they had occupied on the twenty-fifth of July, when Soult made his first attack. As the 92d or Gordon Highlanders was the only Highland regiment which had the good fortune to be engaged in these brilliant attacks, in which they particularly distinguished themselves, the account of these operations might have been deferred till we come to give an account of the services of that excellent regiment; but as the omission of these details in this place would have broken the continuity of the narrative, it was deemed proper to insert them here.

After this second expulsion of the French beyond the Pyrenees, the siege of St. Sebastian was resumed with redoubled energy. A continued fire was kept up from eighty pieces of cannon, which the enemy withstood with surprising courage and perseverance. At length a practicable breach was made, and on the morning of the thirty-first of August the troops advanced to the

assault. The breach was extensive, but there was only one point where it was possible to enter, and this could only be done by single files. All the inside of the wall to the height of the curtain formed a perpendicular scarp of twenty feet. The troops made the most persevering exertions to force the breach, and everything that bravery could attempt was repeatedly tried by the men who were brought forward in succession from the trenches; but each time, on attaining the summit, all who attempted to remain were destroyed by a heavy fire from the entrenched ruins within, so that "no man outlived the attempt to gain the ridge." The moment was critical; but General Graham, with great presence of mind, directed his artillery to play against the curtain, so as to pass a few feet over the heads of the troops in the breach. The fire was directed with admirable precision, and the troops advanced with perfect confidence. They struggled unremittingly for two hours to force the breach, and, taking advantage of some confusion occasioned by an explosion of ammunition within the ramparts, they redoubled their efforts, and by assisting each other got over the walls and ruins. After struggling about an hour among their works, the French retreated with great loss to the castle, leaving the town, which was now reduced to a heap of ruins, in the possession of the assailants. This success was dearly purchased, — the loss of the allies, in killed and wounded, being upwards of two thousand men. Soult made an attempt to raise the siege, by crossing the Bidassoa on the very day the assault was made with a force of nearly forty thousand men; but he was obliged, after repeated attacks, to repass the river.

Having determined to carry the war into France, Lord Wellington crossed the Bidassoa at low water, near its mouth, on the seventh of October. After a series of

successful operations, the allied army was established in the French territories; but as Pampluna still held out, the commander-in-chief delayed his advance for a time. Pampluna surrendered on the thirty-first of October, after a blockade of four months. Lord Wellington having now the whole allied force, amounting to upwards of eighty-five thousand men, at his disposal, resolved to commence operations.

Since the battle of the Pyrenees, the French had occupied a position with their right towards the sea, at a short distance from St. Jean de Luz, their centre, on a village in Sare, and on the heights behind it, with their left resting on a stony height in the rear of Ainhoe. This position, strong by nature, had been rendered still stronger by art. The attack on the French lines was to be made in columns of divisions. In consequence of heavy falls of snow and rain, Lord Wellington was obliged to defer his attack till the tenth of November, on the morning of which day the allies moved forward against the enemy. General Hill, who commanded the right, comprising the divisions of Sir William Stewart, Sir Henry Clinton, Sir John Hamilton's (Portuguese) and General Morilla's (Spanish), marched against the left of the enemy, whilst Marshal Beresford, at the head of the centre, consisting of the divisions of Sir Thomas Picton, Sir Lowry Cole, Lord Dalhousie, Baron Alten, and the Spanish reserve under Generals Giron and Freyre, was to attack the enemy's centre. The left, under General Hope (now second in command, in consequence of the resignation of General Graham), consisting of the brigades of Major-Generals Howard and Oswald, the Portuguese brigades of Brigadier-Generals Wilson and Bradford, and Lord Aylmer's independent British brigade, was directed to move against all the enemy's lines from the centre to the sea.

The attack was begun by General Cole's division, which attacked and carried the principal redoubt in front of Sare with such rapidity, that several of the enemy were taken in it before it could be evacuated. Another redoubt on the left was carried in the same rapid manner by Lord Dalhousie's division, commanded in his absence by Colonel Le Cor. General Cole's division thereupon took possession of the village. General Alten having carried La Petite Rhune, the whole centre divisions united, and made a joint attack on the enemy's principal position behind the village. Sir Thomas Picton's division (now commanded in his absence by General Colville), and that of Le Cor, carried the redoubt on the left of the enemy's centre. The light division advancing from La Petite Rhune, attacked the works in their front, supported by the 52d regiment, who, crossing with great rapidity a narrow neck of land, where they were exposed to the fire of two flanking batteries, rushed up the hill with such impetuosity, that the enemy grew alarmed, and fled with precipitation.

Meanwhile the right, under General Hill, attacked the heights of Ainhoe. The attack was led by General Clinton's division, which, marching on the left of five redoubts, forded the Nivelle, the banks of which were steep and difficult, and attacked the troops in front of the works. These were immediately driven back with loss, and General Hamilton joining in the attack on the other redoubt, the enemy hastily retired. The brigade of General Stewart's division, under General Pringle, drove in the enemy's piquets in front of Ainhoe, whilst General Byng's brigade attacked and drove the enemy from the entrenchments, and from a redoubt farther to the left.

By these successful movements the allies were firmly established on the right bank of the Nivelle; but as the

troops driven from the enemy's centre were concentrating above the heights of Saint Pé, some farther efforts were necessary. Accordingly the divisions of Colville and Le Cor crossed the river below the village, and driving the enemy from these heights, established themselves in the position beyond them. The enemy, now seeing further resistance hopeless, abandoned all their positions and works in front of St. Jean de Luz and retired upon Bidart, after destroying all the bridges on the Lower Nivelle. In these successful and complicated movements, the allies had twenty-one officers and 244 soldiers killed, and 120 officers and 1,657 soldiers wounded. Of the 42d regiment, Captain Mungo Macpherson and Lieutenant Kenneth Macdougall were wounded, one private only killed, and two sergeants and twenty-three rank and file wounded. The French lost thirty-one pieces of cannon, fifteen hundred prisoners, and had a proportional number killed and wounded.

In consequence of the heavy rains and the destruction of the bridges, the allies were prevented from pursuing the enemy, who retired to an entrenched camp near Bayonne. The allied troops were cantoned between the Nivelle and the sea, and made preparations for dislodging the French from their new position; but the incessant rains, which continued till December, put a total stop to all active movements. Having thrown bridges over the Nive in the beginning of December, Lord Wellington commenced operations on the ninth for the passage of that river. As the position of the enemy was considered too strong to be attacked in front, the commander-in-chief determined to make a movement to the right, and by thus threatening Soult's rear, he hoped to induce him to abandon his position. Accordingly the allied army crossed the Nive at different points on the ninth of November. General Hope met

with little opposition, and General Hill, who crossed by the ford of Cambo, was scarcely opposed. In danger of being intercepted by General Clinton's division, which had crossed at Ustariz, the enemy retired in great haste, and assembled in considerable numbers at Ville Franche, but they were driven from this post by the light infantry and two Portuguese regiments, under Colonels Douglas and Browne. General Hill next day took up a position with his division, with his left on Ville Franche and his right on the Adour, in consequence of which he cut off the communication between Bayonne and St. Jean Pied de Port. In this situation the French troops stationed at the latter place were forced to retire on St. Palais.

Leaving a force to keep General Hill in check, Marshal Soult left his entrenched camp on the morning of the tenth, and, making an impetuous attack on the light division of General Hope's wing, drove back his outposts. Then establishing himself on a ridge between the corps of Baron Alten and Major-General Andrew Hay's fifth division, he turned upon the latter, and attacked it with a determined bravery which it was almost impossible to withstand; but after an arduous struggle the enemy were repulsed by Brigadier-General Robinson's brigade of the fifth division, and Brigadier-General Archibald Campbell's Portuguese brigade. The enemy, no way discouraged by these repulses, renewed the attack about three o'clock, but with the same want of success.

During the night, Soult made dispositions for attacking the light division at Arcangues; but Sir John Hope perceiving his intention, moved towards the threatened point. Anticipated in this movement, the experienced marshal again changed his dispositions to the left; but General Hope, equally on the alert, met him also in that

direction. With the exception of some partial skirmishing between the out-posts, no occurrence of any importance took place on the following day; but on the twelfth the enemy renewed the attack on the left, but without success.

Thus foiled in all his attempts, Soult resolved to change entirely his plan of operations, and accordingly, during the night of the twelfth, he drew his army through Bayonne, and on the morning of the thirteenth attempted to force his way between the centre and right of the British position, at the head of thirty thousand men. Advancing with great vigour and celerity, he might have succeeded, had not General Hill, with his usual promptitude of decision, ordered his troops on the flanks to support the centre. The enemy, after a violent struggle, were repulsed with great loss, and retired with such precipitation that they were out of reach before the arrival of the sixth division, which had been ordered up to support General Hill.

Whilst this contest was going on, General Byng's brigade, supported by the Portuguese brigade under General Buchan, carried an important height, from which the enemy made several attempts to dislodge them; but being unsuccessful at all points, they at length retired to their entrenchments, whither they were followed by General Hill, who took up a parallel position.

The inclemency of the weather, and a succession of heavy rains which had swelled the rivers and destroyed the roads, rendering farther movements impracticable for a time, Marshal Soult availed himself of the interruption thus given to the progress of the allied army to strengthen his position. The weather becoming favourable about the middle of February, 1814, Lord Wellington began a series of movements with the view of inducing Soult to withdraw from his strong position, or,

should he decline, to cut off his communication with France, by marching the allied army into the heart of that country. By these movements the British general obtained the command of the Adour, which obliged Soult, who obtained his supplies down that river from the interior, to withdraw from Bayonne in the direction of Daxe. He left, however, a strong garrison in the place.

Leaving General Hope to blockade Bayonne, Lord Wellington made a general movement with the right and centre of the army on the twenty-fourth of February. Next day they marched forward to dislodge the enemy from a position they had taken up on the Gave de Pau at Orthés. Between the extreme points of this position ran a chain of heights receding in a line, bending inwards, the centre of which was so retired as to be protected by the guns of both wings. On his left, Soult was supported in this strong position by the town and the river; his right rested on a commanding height in rear of the village of St. Bois; whilst the centre, accommodating itself to the incurvation of the heights, described a horizontal reversed segment of a circle protected by the strong position of both wings.

The arrangements for carrying this important post were as follow: — Marshal Beresford, with Generals Cole's and Walker's divisions, and Colonel Vivian's brigade of cavalry, was ordered to attack and endeavour to turn the right; the heights on the left and centre were to be attacked by Generals Picton and Clinton, with General Cotton's and Lord Edward Somerset's brigades of cavalry, supported by General Alten's light division in reserve in rear of the two columns; whilst General Hill was to cross the Gave two miles above Orthés, and attack the left flank and rear of the position. In pursuance of these dispositions, Marshal Beresford attacked,

and, after an obstinate resistance, carried the village of St. Bois. General Cole then advanced against the heights above the village, but the defile through which he attempted to pass was so narrow, that only two battalions could be brought forward in line to oppose the weight of the whole force on the heights, and he was therefore obliged to relinquish the advance in that direction. A new plan was instantly adopted by the reserve and the troops of the right, by making an attack upon the enemy's left, in the expectation of turning their flank. In a short time every point was carried, but the enemy retired in a very orderly manner, firing by echelons of divisions, each covering the other as they retreated. Observing General Hill, who had just crossed the river, advancing upon their left flank, on the road from Orthés to St. Sever, the enemy became at once apprehensive that they would be intercepted, and, instead of continuing their masterly retreat, they ran off at full speed, followed by their pursuers. The latter continued the chase for nearly three miles at a full trot, and the French at length breaking their lines, threw away their arms, and fled in all directions. The pursuit was continued, however, as far as Sault de Navailles, on reaching which the remains even of an army were no longer to be seen. The loss of the enemy was estimated at eight thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The loss of the allies in killed and wounded amounted to about sixteen hundred. Of the 42d, Lieutenant John Innes was the only officer killed, besides one sergeant, and three rank and file. Major William Cowell, Captain James Walker, Lieutenants Duncan Stewart and James Brander, five sergeants, and eighty-five rank and file were wounded.

The French army, lately so formidable, was now broken and dispersed, and many of the soldiers, dis-

pirited by their reverses, returned to their homes; others, for the first time, abandoned their standards, and went over to the allies. Soult, however, undismayed by these difficulties, collected the remains of that part of his army which still remained faithful, and exerted all his energies to arrest the progress of the victors, but his efforts were unavailing; and after sustaining a defeat at Ayre, where he attempted to cover the removal of considerable magazines, he retreated to Tarbes. All the western part of Gascony being thus left exposed to the operations of the allied army, Lord Wellington detached Marshal Beresford and Lord Dalhousie, with three divisions, to Bordeaux, which they entered amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants.

Having obtained reinforcements from Spain and England, Lord Wellington, after leaving four thousand men at Bordeaux under Lord Dalhousie, again put his army in motion. Soult attempted to make a stand at Vicq with two divisions, but he was driven from this position by General Picton with the third division, and forced to retire beyond Tarbes. With the apparent intention of disputing the farther advance of the allies, the marshal concentrated his whole force at this point; but he was dislodged from this position by a series of combined movements. It was now discovered that the enemy were drawn up on two hills running parallel to those from which their advance had been driven, and it was farther ascertained that this commanding position could not be gained by an advance in front without a great sacrifice of men, reinforced as it had been by the troops driven from the heights in front. It was therefore determined to attack it on flank; but before the necessary arrangements could be completed night came on, and Soult, taking advantage of the darkness, moved off towards Toulouse, whither he was followed next

morning by the allies, who reached the banks of the Garonne on the twenty-seventh of March.

This river was much swollen by recent rains and the melting of the snow on the Pyrenees. There being only one bridge at Toulouse, and that being in possession of the enemy, it became necessary to procure pontoons to enable the army to pass. Whilst the necessary preparations were going on for this purpose, Marshal Soult made the most extraordinary exertions to put himself in a proper posture of defence. He was not even yet without hopes of success; and although it is generally believed that he was now aware of the abdication of Buonaparte, an event which, he must have known, would put an immediate end to the war, he was unwilling to let slip the only opportunity he now had of wiping off the disgrace of his recent defeats.

The city of Toulouse is defended by an ancient wall, flanked with towers. On three sides it is surrounded by the great canal of Languedoc and by the Garonne, and on the fourth side it is flanked by a range of hills close to the canal, over which pass all the roads on that side the town. On the summit of the nearest of these hills the French had erected a chain of five redoubts, between which and the defences of the town they formed entrenchments and lines of connection. These defences consisted of extensive field-works, and of some of the ancient buildings in the suburbs well fortified. At the foot of the height, and along one-half its length, ran the small river, Ers, the bridges of which had all been destroyed; on the top of the height was an elevated and elongated plain in a state of cultivation, and towards the end next the town there stood a farmhouse and offices. Some trenches had been cut around this house, and three redoubts raised on its front and left. Such was the field selected by Soult to redeem, if possible,

by a last effort, his fallen reputation, and to vindicate the tarnished honour of the French arms.

Pontoons having been procured, part of the allied army crossed the Garonne on the fourth of April; but the melting of the snow on the Pyrenees, owing to a few days of hot weather, swelled the river so much, that it became necessary to remove the pontoons, and it was not till the eighth that they could be replaced. On that day the whole army crossed the river, except General Hill's division, which remained opposite the town in front of the great bridge, to keep the enemy in check on that side. From the insulated nature of the town, no mode of attack was left to Lord Wellington but to attempt the works in front.

Accordingly, on the tenth of April, he made the following dispositions: The Spaniards under Don Manuel Freyre were to attack the redoubts fronting the town; General Picton and the light division were to keep the enemy in check on the great road to Paris, but not to attack; and Marshal Beresford, with General Clinton and the sixth division, was to attack the centre of the entrenchments, whilst General Cole with the fourth marched against the right. When formed in this order, the divisions marched in a parallel direction to the heights on their right, from which they were exposed to a smart cannonade till they came opposite to their respective points of attack, when they immediately changed their front to the right and marched up the hill. The lines and a redoubt on the right were attacked and carried by General Pack's brigade of the 42d, 79th, and 91st, supported by General Lambert's brigade of the 36th, 37th, and 61st regiments. These brigades having gained the summit, the enemy retreated to the redoubt at the farmhouse.

Observing this attack, Don Manuel Freyre with great

spirit marched up with a Spanish division, but it was thrown into great confusion by a severe cannonade, which being observed by the enemy, they rushed out of their entrenchments and drove the Spaniards down the hill; but the light division advancing to their support, they again rallied on the plain at the bottom in front of General Picton's division. With the intention of crossing the canal, General Picton pushed forward the 45th regiment and part of his division, but, from the width and depth of the canal, it was found impracticable to cross it, and being exposed to a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, they were compelled to retire.

The repulse of the Spaniards had disarranged the plan of attack, and a general cessation ensued at all points till they were rallied and brought forward again, — a piece of service which was performed by Lord Wellington in person. Meanwhile Marshal Beresford's artillery, which he had left at Montblanc, was brought up to cannonade the heights. The attack now recommenced. The Spaniards made several attempts, but were unable to succeed. General Pack's brigade advanced to attack the works at the farmhouse and the two centre redoubts, and whilst marching forward several hundred yards over a ploughed field, which, from its breadth and smooth surface, gave a full range to the enemy's fire, he was exposed to the whole fire of the lines, redoubts, and entrenchments. The troops did not, however, return a shot, and advanced with a steadiness that surprised the enemy. Alluding to the 42d and 79th, a French officer exclaimed, "My God! how firm these *sans culottes* are!" On reaching the redoubt, they leaped into the trenches, and carried them with the bayonet. Two-thirds of the lines which defended the heights, and three of the redoubts, were now in the possession of the allies.

Two of these redoubts on the left were occupied by the 42d, — that on the right by the 79th, and the 91st was stationed in rear of the farmhouse. The outward redoubt on the left was on the edge of the declivity towards the plain at the bottom of the hill. Traversing the summit of the heights were three roads sunk deep into the earth by long use, and having very high banks on each side. One of these roads ran close to the outward redoubt on the left, and by some oversight had not been properly occupied, the men being stationed in the inner entrenchment. To regain, if possible, these positions, the enemy, under shelter of this kind of covered-way, marched up a column of between five and six thousand men, and with such secrecy, that the head of the column had nearly passed the unoccupied redoubt before they were observed. Having gained the proper point, they immediately rushed furiously forward in such numbers as almost to overpower the 42d, who were compelled to retire to the farmhouse; but being promptly supported by the 91st, they attacked the enemy and drove them down the hill, with great loss. The Highlanders also suffered very severely. Determined to carry the redoubts, a fresh body of the enemy advanced up the hill and made a most desperate attack, and persevered with a gallantry which it required the utmost firmness of the British troops to resist. In this struggle the 42d occupied the outward redoubt, the 79th that in the centre, and the 91st the farmyard.

After a furious contest, the enemy were forced to desist from the attempt. The whole of the French then retired, leaving the heights in full possession of the allies.

Finding the city, which was now within reach of the guns of the allies, quite untenable, Soult evacuated it the same evening, and was allowed to retire without

molestation. Even had he been able to have withstood a siege, he must soon have surrendered for want of the provisions necessary for the support of a population of sixty thousand inhabitants; and of his own army, which was now reduced by the casualties of war and recent desertions to thirty thousand men. "Thus, as a wary and experienced fox (to use a familiar illustration), who, after a long and intricate chase, and in spite of his numberless doublings and manœuvres, is at length earthed under some bank, — so the Field Marshal of France was now cooped up within the small circle of a city, the capital of the second province of France, into which an army which had conquered two kingdoms had been driven for shelter, after a series of retrograde movements and manœuvres from Seville to Toulouse. In the course of these operations, the army of Great Britain and her allies had liberated and given independence to two kingdoms, and had fought eight pitched battles against the bravest soldiers, and the ablest and most experienced generals of France, who had been foiled by the British general in their boasted tactics, and out-manœuvred, out-marched, out-flanked, and overturned. That army had been also successful in many arduous sieges and assaults, and had at length established themselves in Bordeaux and Toulouse, the two principal cities of the south of France. Such are a few of the glorious results of these campaigns. Quatre Bras and Waterloo completed a series of victories, the more honourable, as they were gained over an enemy remarkable for transcendent military talents and genius."

The loss of the 42d in the battle of Toulouse was four officers, three sergeants, and forty-seven rank and file killed; and twenty-one officers, fourteen sergeants, one drummer, and 231 rank and file wounded. The names of

the officers killed were Captain John Swanson, Lieutenant William Gordon, Ensigns John Latta and Donald Maccrummen; the wounded were Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Macara, Captains James Walker, John Henderson (who died of his wounds), and Alexander Mackenzie, Lieutenants Donald Mackenzie, Thomas Munro, Hugh Angus Fraser, James Robertson, R. A. Mackinnon, Roger Stewart, Robert Gordon, Charles Maclaren, Alexander Strange, Donald Farquharson (who died of his wounds), James Watson, William Urquhart, Ensigns Thomas Macniven, Colin Walker, James Geddes, John Malcolm, and Mungo Macpherson.

The allies entered Toulouse on the morning after the battle, and were received with enthusiasm by the inhabitants, who, doubtless, considered themselves extremely fortunate in being relieved from the presence of the French army, whose retention of the city a few hours longer would have exposed it to all the horrors of a bombardment. By a singular coincidence, official accounts reached Toulouse in the course of the day of the abdication of Buonaparte, and the restoration of Louis XVIII; but it is said that these despatches had been kept back on the road.

In consequence of the cessation of hostilities, the British troops removed without delay to their appointed destinations, and the three Highland regiments were embarked for Ireland, where they remained till May, 1815, when they were shipped for Flanders, on the return of Buonaparte from Elba.

The intelligence of Buonaparte's advance reached Brussels on the evening of the fifteenth of June, when orders were immediately issued by the Duke of Wellington for the assembling of the troops. The 42d and 92d regiments were among the first to muster. The men had become great favourites in Brussels, and were on such

terms of friendly intercourse with the inhabitants in whose houses they were quartered, that it was no uncommon thing to see a Highland soldier taking care of the children, and even keeping the shop of his host, — an instance of confidence perhaps unexampled.

The 42d, with other regiments, hastened to Quatre Bras early next morning, to take up a position, but before they were able to unite, the enemy advanced in great numbers from a variety of points, and attacked these regiments separately. The 42d was drawn up in a field of barley nearly breast-high. At some distance they observed a corps of cavalry, which they supposed, from their uniform, to be Prussians or Belgians. They were in fact a body of French lancers, but the mistake was not discovered in time to receive the squadrons of the enemy in proper formation. The Highlanders endeavoured to throw themselves into a kind of square, which movement being observed by the enemy, they galloped up and charged the Highlanders with great impetuosity before they had nearly completed their formation. The enemy were, however, repulsed, and forced back at every point. The regiment now formed itself into a compact square, and in that situation gallantly withstood the repeated attacks of the lancers, who were unable to make any impression. At the end of every charge, the enemy, turning their backs, scampered off to a short distance, amid the jeers and laughter of the Highlanders, who kept firing at them both on their approach and retreat. Finding all their attempts against the Highland phalanx fruitless, the enemy desisted from the attack.

The principal loss sustained by the Highlanders was at the first onset; yet it was by no means so severe as might have been expected. Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Robert Macara, Lieutenant Robert Gordon and Ensign

William Gerrard, two sergeants, and forty rank and file were killed. Including officers, there were 243 wounded. The names of the officers were Lieutenant-Colonel Dick, Captains A. Menzies, George Davidson (who died of his wounds), Donald Macdonald, Donald Mackintosh, and Robert Boyle, Lieutenants Donald Chisholm, Duncan Stewart, Donald Mackenzie, Hugh Angus Fraser, John Malcolm, and A. Dunbar, Ensigns William Fraser and A. L. Fraser, and Adjutant James Young.

In the battle of Waterloo, in which the regiment was partially engaged, the 42d had only five men killed and forty-five wounded. In these last are included the following officers, viz.: Captain Mungo Macpherson, Lieutenants John Orr, George Gunn Munro, Hugh Angus Fraser, and James Brander, and Quartermaster Donald Mackintosh.

With the battle of Waterloo, the last of a long series of engagements, the present history of the 42d regiment, embracing a period of seventy-five years, ends. It has been observed, as a remarkable circumstance in the history of the Royal Highlanders, that on every occasion when they fired a shot at an enemy (except at Ticonderoga, where success was almost impossible), they were successful to such an extent at least, that whatever the general issue of the battle might be, that part of the enemy opposed to them never stood their ground, unless the Highlanders were by insurmountable obstacles prevented from closing upon them. Fontenoy even does not form an exception, for although the allies were defeated, the Highlanders carried the points assigned them, and then, as at Ticonderoga, they were the last to leave the field.

After the surrender of Paris the regiment returned to England, whence they marched for Scotland in the spring of 1816. On their arrival in the vicinity of Edin-

burgh on the eighteenth of March, an immense number of the inhabitants went out several miles to welcome the heroes to the capital of their native land; and on entering the suburb of the Canongate the crowd was so dense, and the pressure of the moving mass so great, that the pipers and band were obliged to put up their instruments for want of room to play, and of the soldiers little was seen except their bonnets and feathers. In the spacious High Street of the city the crowd was equally great, and the windows of that majestic and continued double range of lofty houses, extending from the Watergate to the Castle hill, were filled with spectators, chiefly ladies. In marching into the castle, Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Dick, who had succeeded Lieutenant-Colonel Macara in the command, was accompanied at the head of the regiment by Major-General Hope, commander of the forces, and Colonel (afterward major-general) David Stewart of Garth. In consequence of the density of the crowd, the march towards the castle was so much impeded that the soldiers took an hour and a quarter to walk from the palace of Holyrood to the castle gate, where they experienced the utmost difficulty to disengage themselves from the crowd. All the city bells were rung on the occasion, and during their march through the city the spectators rent the air with their acclamations. Nor did this manifestation of public feeling towards this meritorious body of men stop here. A public dinner was given to them in the Assembly Booms, George Street, which was superintended by Sir Walter Scott and other eminent citizens; and each soldier was presented with a ticket of admission to the theatre for one night.

Nothing now remains but to give a summary of the number of men that entered the regiment, from its formation down to the battle of Waterloo, and the

number of those who were killed, wounded, died of sickness, or were discharged during that period.

The grand total of men embodied in the Black Watch and 42d or Royal Highland regiment, from its origin at Tay Bridge in April, 1740, to 24th June, 1815, exclusive of the second battalion of 1780,[9] and that of 1803,[10] was		8792
Of these there were killed, during that period, exclusive of thirty-five officers	816	
Wounded during the same period, exclusive of 133 officers	2413	
Died by sickness, wounds, and various casualties, including those who were discharged and those who volunteered into other regiments, when the 42d left America in 1767, up to 25th June, 1793 . .	2275	
Died by sickness, wounds, and various casualties, from 25th June, 1793, to 24th June, 1815 . . .	1135	
Discharged during same period	1485	
Unaccounted for during same period, having been left sick in an enemy's country, prisoners, etc. . .	138	
	——	8262
Number remaining in the first battalion on 24th June, 1815		530

When it is considered that out of seventy-five years' service, forty-five were spent in active warfare, the trifling loss of the regiment by the enemy will appear extraordinary; and the smallness of that loss can only be accounted for by the determined bravery and firmness of the men, it being now the opinion of military men that troops, who act vigorously, suffer less than those who are slow and cautious in their operations.

LOUDON'S HIGHLANDERS
1745

NEXT in order of date, this regiment falls to be noticed.

The bravery displayed by Lord John Murray's Highlanders at Fontenoy opened the eyes of government to the importance of securing the military services of the clans. It was, therefore, determined to repair, in part, the loss sustained in that well-fought action, by raising a second regiment in the Highlands, and authority to that effect was granted to the Earl of Loudon. By the influence of the noblemen, chiefs, and gentlemen of the country, whose sons and connections were to be appointed officers, a body of 1,250 men was raised, of whom 750 assembled at Inverness, and the remainder at Perth. The whole were formed into a battalion of twelve companies, under the following officers, their commissions being dated the eighth of June, 1745.

Colonel. — John Campbell, Earl of Loudon, who died in 1782, a general in the army.
Lieutenant-Colonel. — John Campbell (late Duke of Argyle), who died a field-marshal in 1806.

Captains

John Murray (late Duke of Athole), son of Lord George Murray.
Alexander Livingston Campbell, son of Ardkinglass.
John Macleod, younger of Macleod.
Henry Munro, son of Colonel Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis.
Lord Charles Gordon, brother of the Duke of Gordon.
John Stewart, son of the Earl of Moray.
Alexander Mackay, son of Lord Reay.

Ewen Macpherson of Clunie.
John Sutherland of Forse.
Colin Campbell of Ballimore, killed at Culloden.
Archibald Macnab, who died a lieutenant-general in 1791, son of the laird of Macnab.

Lieutenants

Colin Campbell of Kilberrie.
Alexander Maclean.
John Campbell of Strachur, who died in 1806, a general in the army, and colonel of the 57th regiment.
John Robertson, or Reid of Straloch, who died in 1806, at the age of eighty-five, a general in the army, and colonel of the 88th or Connaught Rangers.
Patrick Grant, younger of Rothiemurchus.
Duncan Robertson of Drumachuine, afterward of Strowan.
Patrick Campbell, son of Achallader.
Donald Macdonald.
James Macpherson of Killihuntly.
John Campbell of Ardsliginish.
Alexander Campbell, brother to Barcaldine.
Donald Macdonell of Lochgarry.
Colin Campbell of Glenure.

Ensigns

James Steward of Urrard.
John Martin of Inch.
George Munro of Novar.
Malcolm Ross, younger of Pitcalnie.
Hugh Mackay.
James Fraser.
David Spalding of Ashintully.
Archibald Campbell.
Donald Macneil.
Alexander Maclagan, son of the minister of Little Dunkeld.
Robert Bisset of Glenelbert, afterward commissary-general of Great Britain.
John Grant, younger of Dalrachnie.

Before the regiment was disciplined, the rebellion broke out, and so rapid were the movements of the rebels, that the communication between the two divisions, at Perth and Inverness, was cut off. They were therefore obliged to act separately. The formation of the regiment at the time was considered a fortunate circumstance, as many of the men would certainly have joined in the insurrection; and indeed several of the officers and men went over to the rebels. Four companies were employed in the central and southern Highlands, whilst the rest were occupied in the northern Highlands, under Lord Loudon. Three companies under the Hon. Captains

Stewart and Mackay, and Captain Munro of Fowlis, were, with all their officers, taken prisoners at the battle of Gladsmuir. Three other companies were also at the battle of Culloden, where Captain Campbell and six men were killed, and two soldiers wounded.

On the thirtieth of May, 1747, the regiment embarked at Burntisland for Flanders, but it did not join the Duke of Cumberland's army till after the battle of Lafeldt, on the second of July. Though disappointed of the opportunity which this battle would have given them of distinguishing themselves, another soon offered for the display of their gallantry. Marshal Saxe having determined to attack the strong fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom, with an army of twenty-five thousand men under General Count Lowendahl, all the disposable forces in Brabant, including Loudon's Highlanders, were sent to defend the lines, which were strongly fortified. To relieve the garrison, consisting of six battalions, and to preserve a communication with the country, eighteen battalions occupied the lines. The fortress, which was considered impregnable, was defended by 250 pieces of cannon. The siege was carried on unremittingly from the fifteenth of July till the seventeenth of September, during which interval many sorties were made. In the *Hague Gazette*, an account is given of one of these, which took place on the twenty-fifth of July, in which it is stated "that the Highlanders, who were posted in Fort Rouro, which covers the lines of Bergen-op-Zoom, made a sally, sword in hand, in which they were so successful as to destroy the enemy's grand battery, and to kill so many of their men, that Count Lowendahl beat a parley, in order to bury the dead. To this it was answered, that had he attacked the place agreeably to the rules of war, his demand would certainly have been granted; but as he had begun the siege, like

an incendiary, by setting fire to the city with red-hot balls, a resolution had been taken neither to ask or grant any suspension of arms."

Having made breaches in a ravelin and two bastions, the besiegers made an unexpected assault on the night of the sixteenth of September, and throwing themselves into the fosse, mounted the breaches, forced open a sally port, and, entering the place, ranged themselves along the ramparts, almost before the garrison had assembled. Cronstrun, the old governor, and many of his officers were asleep, and so sudden and unexpected was the attack, that several of them flew to ranks in their shirts. Though the possession of the ramparts sealed the fate of the town, the Scottish troops were not disposed to surrender it without a struggle. The French were opposed by two regiments of the Scotch brigade, in the pay of the States-General, who, by their firmness, checked the progress of the enemy, and enabled the governor and garrison to recover from their surprise. The Scotch assembled in the market-place, and attacked the French with such vigour that they drove them from street to street, till, fresh reinforcements pouring in, they were compelled to retreat in their turn, — disputing every inch as they retired, and fighting till two-thirds of their number fell on the spot, killed or severely wounded, — when the remains brought off the old governor, and joined the troops in the lines.

The troops in the lines, most unaccountably, retreated immediately, and the enemy thus became masters of the whole navigation of the Scheldt. "Two battalions," says an account of the assault published in the *Hague Gazette*, "of the Scotch brigade have, as usual, done honour to their country, — which is all we have to comfort us for the loss of such brave men, who, from 1,450, are now reduced to 330 men, — and those have

valiantly brought their colours with them, which the grenadiers twice recovered from the midst of the French at the point of the bayonet. The Swiss have also suffered, while others took a more speedy way to escape danger." In a history of this memorable siege the brave conduct of the Scotch is also thus noticed: "It appears that more than three hundred of the Scotch brigade fought their way through the enemy, and that they have had nineteen officers killed and eighteen wounded. Lieutenants Francis and Allan Maclean of the brigade were taken prisoners, and carried before General Lowendahl, who thus addressed them: 'Gentlemen, consider yourselves on parole. If all had conducted themselves as you and your brave corps have done, I should not now be master of Bergen-op-Zoom.'" [11]

The loss of a fortress hitherto deemed impregnable was deeply felt by the allies. The eyes of all Europe had been fixed upon this important siege, and when the place fell strong suspicions were entertained of treachery in the garrison. Everything had been done by the people of the United Provinces to enable the soldiers to hold out. They were allowed additional provisions of the best quality, and cordials were furnished for the sick and dying. Large sums of money were collected to be presented to the soldiers, if they made a brave defence; and £17,000 were collected in one day in Amsterdam, to be applied in the same way, if the soldiers compelled the enemy to raise the siege. Every soldier who carried away a gabion from the enemy was paid a crown, and such was the activity of the Scotch, that some of them gained ten crowns a day in this kind of service. Those who ventured to take the burning fuse out of the bombs of the enemy (and there were several who did so) received ten or twelve ducats. In this remarkable siege the French sustained an enormous

loss, exceeding twenty-two thousand men; that of the garrison did not exceed four thousand.

After the loss of Bergen-op-Zoom, Loudon's Highlanders joined the Duke of Cumberland's army, and at the peace of 1748 returned to Scotland, and was reduced at Perth in June of the same year.

MONTGOMERY'S HIGHLANDERS

OR SEVENTY-SEVENTH REGIMENT
1757

ALLUDING to the formation of several Highland regiments during this and the following years, Lord Chatham thus expresses himself, in his celebrated speech on the differences with America in 1766: "I sought for merit wherever it was to be found; it is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it and found it in the mountains of the North. I called it forth, and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men, who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifice of your enemies, and had gone nigh to have overturned the state in the war before the last. These men, in the last war, were brought to combat on your side; they served with fidelity, and they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world." The only way by which the Highlanders could be gained over was by adopting a liberal course of policy, the leading features of which should embrace the employment of the chiefs, or their connections, in the military service of the government. It was reserved to the sagacity of Chatham to trace the cause of the disaffection of the Highlanders to its source, and, by suggesting a remedy, to give to their military virtue a safe direction.

Acting upon the liberal plan he had devised, Lord

Chatham (then Mr. Pitt), in the year 1757, recommended to his Majesty George II to employ the Highlanders in his service, as the best means of attaching them to his person. The king approved of the plan of the minister, and letters of service were immediately issued for raising several Highland regiments. This call to arms was responded to by the clans, and "battalions on battalions," to borrow the words of an anonymous author, "were raised in the remotest part of the Highlands, among those who a few years before were devoted to and too long had followed the fate of the race of Stuart. Frasers, Macdonalds, Camerons, Macleans, Macphersons, and others of disaffected names and clans, were enrolled; their chiefs or connections obtained commissions; the lower class, always ready to follow, with eagerness endeavoured who should be first listed."

This regiment was called Montgomery's Highlanders, from the name of its colonel, the Hon. Archibald Montgomerie, son of the Earl of Eglintoun, to whom, when major, letters of service were issued for recruiting it. Being popular among the Highlanders, Major Montgomerie soon raised the requisite body of men, who were formed into a regiment of thirteen companies of 105 rank and file each; making in all 1,460 effective men, including sixty-five sergeants, and thirty pipers and drummers.

The colonel's commission was dated the fourth of January, 1757. The commissions of the other officers were dated each a day later than his senior in the same rank.

Lieutenant-Colonel commanding

The Hon. Archibald Montgomerie, afterward Earl of Eglintoun, died a general in the army, and colonel of the Scots Greys, in 1796.

Majors

James Grant of Ballindalloch, died a general in the army in 1806.
Alexander Campbell.

Captains

John Sinclair.
Hugh Mackenzie.
John Gordon.
Alexander Mackenzie, killed at St. John's, 1761.
William Macdonald, killed at Fort du Quèsne, 1759.
George Munro, do. do.
Robert Mackenzie.
Allan Maclean, from the Dutch brigade, colonel of the 84th Highland Emigrants; died a major-general, 1784.
James Robertson.
Allan Cameron.
Captain-Lieutenant, Alexander Mackintosh.

Lieutenants

Charles Farquharson.
Alexander Mackenzie, killed at Fort du Quèsne, 1759.
Nichol Sutherland, died lieutenant-colonel of the 47th regiment, 1780.
Archibald Robertson.
Duncan Bayne.
James Duff.
Colin Campbell, killed at Fort du Quèsne, 1759.
James Grant.
Alexander Macdonald.
Joseph Grant.
Robert Grant.
Cosmo Martin.
John Macnab.
Hugh Gordon, killed in Martinique, 1762.
Donald Macdonald.
William Mackenzie, killed at Fort du Quèsne.
Robert Mackenzie, killed at Fort du Quèsne.
Henry Munro.
Alexander Macdonald, killed at Fort du Quèsne.
Donald Campbell.
Hugh Montgomerie, late Earl of Eglintoun.
James Maclean, killed in the West Indies, 1761.
Alexander Campbell.
John Campbell of Melford.
James Macpherson.
Archibald Macvicar, killed at the Havannah, 1762.

Ensigns

Alexander Grant.
William Haggart.
Lewis Houston.
Ronald Mackinnon.
George Munro.
Alexander Mackenzie.
John Maclachlane.
William Maclean.
James Grant.
John Macdonald.
Archibald Crawford.
James Bain.
Allan Stewart.

Chaplain — Henry Munro.
Adjutant — Donald Stewart.
Surgeon — Allan Stewart.
Quartermaster — Alex. Montgomerie.

The regiment embarked at Greenock for Halifax, and on the commencement of hostilities in 1758 was

attached to the corps under Brigadier-General Forbes, in the expedition against Fort du Quèsne, one of the three great enterprises undertaken that year against the French possessions in North America. Although the point of attack was not so formidable, nor the number of the enemy so great, as in the cases of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, yet the great extent of country which the troops had to traverse, covered with woods, morasses, and mountains, made the expedition as difficult as the other two. The army of General Forbes was 6,238 men strong.

The brigadier reached Raystown, about ninety miles from the fort, in September. Having sent Colonel Bouquet forward to Loyal Henning, forty miles nearer, with two thousand men, this officer rashly despatched Major Grant of Montgomery's with four hundred Highlanders, and five hundred Provincials, to reconnoitre. When near the garrison Major Grant imprudently advanced with pipes playing and drums beating, as if entering a friendly town. The enemy instantly marched out, and a warm contest took place. Major Grant ordered his men to throw off their coats and advance sword in hand. The enemy fled on the first charge, and spread themselves among the woods; but being afterward joined by a body of Indians, they rallied and surrounded the detachment on all sides. Protected by a thick foliage, they opened a destructive fire upon the British. Major Grant then endeavoured to force his way into the wood, but was taken in the attempt, on seeing which his troops dispersed. Only 150 of the Highlanders returned to Loyal Henning.

In this unfortunate affair 231 soldiers of the regiment were killed and wounded. The names of the officers killed on this occasion have been already mentioned; the following were wounded: viz., Captain Hugh Mac-

kenzie, Lieutenants Alexander Macdonald, junior, Archibald Robertson, Henry Munro, and Ensigns John Macdonald and Alexander Grant. The enemy did not venture to oppose the main body, but retired from Fort du Quèsne on its approach, leaving their ammunition, stores, and provisions untouched. General Forbes took possession of the fort on the twenty-fourth of November, who, in honour of Mr. Pitt, gave it the name of Pittsburgh.

The regiment passed the winter of 1758 in Pittsburgh, and in May following they joined part of the army under General Amherst in his proceedings at Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and the Lakes, — a detail of which has been given in the history of the service of the 42d regiment.

In consequence of the renewed cruelties committed by the Cherokees, in the spring of 1760, the commander-in-chief detached Colonel Montgomery with seven hundred Highlanders of his own regiment, four hundred of the Royals, and a body of Provincials, to chastise these savages. The colonel arrived in the neighbourhood of the Indian town, Little Keowee, in the middle of June, having, on his route, detached the light companies of the Royals and Highlanders to destroy the place. This service was performed with the loss of a few men killed, and two officers of the Royals wounded. Finding, on reaching Estatoe, that the enemy had fled, Colonel Montgomery retired to Fort Prince George. The Cherokees still proving refractory, he paid a second visit to the middle settlement, where he met with some resistance. He had two officers and twenty men killed, and twenty-six officers and sixty-eight men wounded. Of these, the Highlanders had one sergeant and six privates killed, and Captain Sutherland, Lieutenants Macmaster and Mackinnon, and Assistant-Surgeon Monro,

[illegible] junior, Archi-
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THE MACDOUGAL
DUNOLLY CASTLE

and one sergeant, one piper, and twenty-four rank and file wounded. The detachment took Fort Loudon, — a small fort on the confines of Virginia, — which was defended by two hundred men.

The next service in which Montgomery's Highlanders were employed was in an expedition against Dominique, consisting of a small land force, which included six companies of Montgomery's Highlanders, and four ships of war, under Colonel Lord Rollo and Commodore Sir James Douglas. The transports from New York were scattered in a gale of wind, when a small transport, with a company of the Highlanders on board, being attacked by a French privateer, was beaten off by the Highlanders, with the loss of Lieutenant Maclean and six men killed, and Captain Robertson and eleven men wounded. The expedition arrived off Dominique on the sixth of June, 1761. The troops immediately landed, and marched with little opposition to the town of Roseau. Lord Rollo without delay attacked the entrenchments, and, though the enemy kept up a galling fire, they were driven, in succession, from all their works, by the grenadiers, light infantry, and Highlanders. This service was executed with such vigour and rapidity that few of the British suffered. The governor and his staff being made prisoners surrendered the island without further opposition.

In the following year Montgomery's Highlanders joined the expeditions against Martinique and the Havannah, of which some account will be found in the narrative of the service of the 42d regiment. In the enterprise against Martinique, Lieutenant Hugh Gordon and four rank and file were killed, and Captain Alexander Mackenzie, one sergeant, and twenty-six rank and file were wounded. Montgomery's Highlanders suffered still less in the conquest of the Havannah,

Lieutenant Macvicar and two privates only having been killed, and six privates wounded. Lieutenants Grant and Macnab and six privates died of the fever. After this last enterprise Montgomery's Highlanders returned to New York, where they landed in the end of October.

Before the return of the six companies to New York, the two companies that had been sent against the Indians in the autumn of 1761 had embarked with a small force, under Colonel Amherst, destined to retake St. John's, Newfoundland, which was occupied by a French force. The British force, which consisted of the flank companies of the Royals, a detachment of the 45th, two companies of Fraser's and Montgomery's Highlanders, and a small party of Provincials, landed on the twelfth of September seven miles to the northward of St. John's. A mortar battery having been completed on the seventeenth and ready to open on the garrison, the French commander surrendered by capitulation to an inferior force. Of Montgomery's Highlanders, Captain Mackenzie and four privates were killed, and two privates wounded.

After this service the two companies joined the regiment at New York, where they passed the ensuing winter. In the summer of 1763 a detachment accompanied the expedition sent to the relief of Fort Pitt under Colonel Bouquet, the details of which have been already given in the account of the 42d regiment. In this enterprise one drummer and five privates of Montgomery's Highlanders were killed, and Lieutenant Donald Campbell, and Volunteer John Peebles, three sergeants, and seven privates were wounded.

After the termination of hostilities an offer was made to the officers and men either to settle in America or return to their own country. Those who remained

obtained a grant of land in proportion to their rank. On the breaking out of the American war a number of these, as well as officers and men of the 78th regiment, joined the royal standard in 1775, and formed a corps along with the Highland Emigrants in the 84th regiment.

FRASER'S HIGHLANDERS

OR SEVENTY - EIGHTH AND SEVENTY - FIRST REGIMENTS

I. 78TH REGIMENT, RAISED IN 1757

FOLLOWING up the liberal policy which Lord Chatham (then Mr. Pitt) had resolved to pursue in relation to the Highlanders, he prevailed upon his Majesty George II to appoint the Hon. Simon Fraser, son of the unfortunate Lord Lovat, and who had himself, when a youth, been forced into the rebellion by his father, lieutenant-colonel commandant of a regiment to be raised among his own kinsmen and clan. Though not possessed of an inch of land, yet, such was the influence of clanship, that young Lovat in a few weeks raised a corps of eight hundred men, to which were added upwards of six hundred more by the gentlemen of the country and those who had obtained commissions. The battalion was, in point of the number of companies and men, precisely the same as Montgomery's Highlanders.

The following is a list of the officers whose commissions were dated the fifth of January, 1757: —

Lieutenant-Colonel commandant

The Hon. Simon Fraser, died a lieutenant-general in 1782.

Majors

James Clephane.

John Campbell of Dunoon, afterward lieutenant-colonel, commandant of the Campbell Highlanders in Germany.

Captains

John Macpherson, brother of Clunie.
John Campbell of Ballimore.
Simon Fraser of Inverallochy, killed on the heights of Abraham, 1759.
Donald Macdonald, brother to Clanranald, killed at Quebec in 1760.
John Macdonell of Lochgarry, afterward colonel of the 76th, or Macdonald's regiment, died in 1789 colonel.
Alexander Cameron of Dungallon.
Thomas Ross of Culrossie, killed on the heights of Abraham, 1759.
Thomas Fraser of Strui.
Alexander Fraser of Culduthel.
Sir Henry Seton of Abercorn and Culbeg.
James Fraser of Belladrum.
Captain-Lieutenant — Simon Fraser, died lieutenant-general in 1812.

Lieutenants

Alexander Macleod.
Hugh Cameron.
Ronald Macdonell, son of Keppoch.
Charles Macdonell from Glengary, killed at St. John's.
Roderick Macneill of Barra, killed on the heights of Abraham, 1759.
William Macdonell.
Archibald Campbell, son of Glenlyon.
John Fraser of Balnain.
Hector Macdonald, brother to Boisdale, killed 1759.
Allan Stewart, son of Innernaheil.
John Fraser.
Alexander Macdonald, son of Barisdale, killed on the heights of Abraham, 1759.
Alexander Fraser, killed at Louisbourg.
Alexander Campbell of Aross.
John Douglass.
John Nairn.
Arthur Rose, of the family of Kilravock.
Alexander Fraser.
John Macdonell of Leeks, died in Berwick, 1818.
Cosmo Gordon, killed at Quebec, 1760.
David Baillie, killed at Louisbourg.
Charles Stewart, son of Colonel John Roy Stewart.
Ewen Cameron, of the family of Glennevis.
Allan Cameron.
John Cuthbert, killed at Louisbourg.
Simon Fraser.
Archibald Macallister, of the family of Loup.
James Murray, killed at Louisbourg.
Alexander Fraser.
Donald Cameron, son of Fassafern, died lieutenant on half-pay, 1817.

Ensigns

John Chisholm.
Simon Fraser.
James Mackenzie.
Donald Macneil.

Malcolm Fraser, afterward captain 84th regiment.
Hugh Fraser, afterward captain 84th, or Highland Emigrants.
Robert Menzies.
John Fraser of Errogie.
Henry Munro.
Alexander Gregorson, Ardtornish.
James Henderson.
John Campbell.

Chaplain — Robert Macpherson.
Adjutant — Hugh Fraser.
Quartermaster — John Fraser.
Surgeon — John Maclean.

The uniform of the regiment "was the full Highland dress with musket and broadsword, to which many of the soldiers added the dirk at their own expense, and a purse of badger's or otter's skin. The bonnet was raised or cocked on one side, with a slight bend inclining down to the right ear, over which were suspended two or more black feathers. Eagle's or hawk's feathers were usually worn by the gentlemen, in the Highlands, while the bonnets of the common people were ornamented with a bunch of the distinguishing mark of the clan or district. The ostrich feather in the bonnets of the soldiers was a modern addition of that period, as the present load of plumage on the bonnet is a still more recent introduction, forming, however, in hot climates, an excellent defence against a vertical sun."

The regiment embarked in company with Montgomery's Highlanders at Greenock, and landed at Halifax in June, 1757. They were intended to be employed in an expedition against Louisbourg, which, however, after the necessary preparations, was abandoned. About this time it was proposed to change the uniform of the regiment, as the Highland garb was judged unfit for the severe winters and the hot summers of North America; but the officers and soldiers having set themselves in opposition to the plan, and being warmly supported by Colonel Fraser, who represented to the commander-in-chief the bad consequences that might follow if it were persisted in, the plan was relinquished.

"Thanks to our gracious chief," said a veteran of the regiment, "we were allowed to wear the garb of our fathers, and, in the course of six winters, showed the doctors that they did not understand our constitution; for, in the coldest winters, our men were more healthy than those regiments who wore breeches and warm clothing."

Amongst other enterprises projected for the campaign of 1758, the design of attacking Louisbourg was renewed. Accordingly, on the twenty-eighth of May, a formidable armament sailed from Halifax, under the command of Admiral Boscawen and Major-General Amherst, and Brigadier-Generals Wolfe, Laurence, Monckton, and Whitmore. This armament, consisting of twenty-five sail of the line, eighteen frigates, and a number of bombs and fire-ships, with thirteen thousand troops, including the 78th Highlanders, anchored, on the second of June, in Gabarus Bay, seven miles from Louisbourg. In consequence of a heavy surf no boat could approach the shore, and it was not till the eighth of June that a landing could be effected. The garrison of Louisbourg consisted of twenty-five hundred regulars, six hundred militia, and four hundred Canadians and Indians. For more than seven miles along the beach a chain of posts had been established by the enemy, with entrenchments and batteries; and, to protect the harbour, there were six ships of the line and five frigates placed at its mouth, of which frigates three were sunk.

The disposition being made for landing, a detachment of several sloops, under convoy, passed the mouth of the harbour towards Lorembec, in order to draw the enemy's attention that way, whilst the landing should really be on the other side of the town. On the eighth of June, the troops being assembled in the boats before

daybreak in three divisions, several sloops and frigates, that were stationed along shore in the bay of Gabarus, began to scour the beach with their shot. The division on the left, which was destined for the real attack, consisted of the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, and Fraser's Highlanders, and was commanded by Brigadier-General Wolfe. After the fire from the sloops and frigates had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats containing this division were rowed towards the shore; and, at the same time, the other two divisions on the right and in the centre, commanded by Brigadier-Generals Whitmore and Laurence, made a show of landing, in order to divide and distract the enemy. The landing-place was occupied by two thousand men entrenched behind a battery of eight pieces of cannon and ten swivels. The enemy reserved their fire till the boats were near the beach, when they opened a discharge of cannon and musketry which did considerable execution. A considerable surf aided the enemy's fire, and numbers of the men were drowned by the upsetting of the boats. Captain Baillie and Lieutenant Cuthbert of the Highlanders, Lieutenant Nicholson of Amherst's, and thirty-eight men were killed; but, notwithstanding these disadvantages, General Wolfe pursued his point with admirable courage and deliberation: "and nothing could stop our troops, when headed by such a general. Some of the light infantry and Highlanders got first ashore, and drove all before them. The rest followed; and, being encouraged by the example of their heroic commander, soon pursued the enemy to the distance of two miles, where they were checked by a cannonading from the town."

The town of Louisbourg was immediately invested; but the difficulty of landing stores and implements in boisterous weather, and the nature of the ground,

which, being marshy, was unfit for the conveyance of heavy cannon, retarded the operations of the siege. The governor of Louisbourg, having destroyed the grand battery which was detached from the body of the place, recalled his outposts, and prepared for a vigorous defence. He opened a fire against the besiegers and their works from the town, the island battery, and the ships in the harbour, but without much effect. Meanwhile General Wolfe, with a strong detachment, marched round the northeast part of the harbour to secure a point called the Lighthouse Battery, from which the guns could play on the ships and on the batteries on the opposite side of the harbour. This service was performed on the twelfth by General Wolfe with great ability, who, "with his Highlanders and flankers," took possession of this and all the other posts in that quarter with very trifling loss. On the twenty-fifth the inland battery immediately opposite was silenced from this post. The enemy, however, kept up an incessant fire from their other batteries and the shipping in the harbour. On the ninth of July they made a sortie on Brigadier-General Laurence's brigade, but were quickly repulsed. In this affair Captain, the Earl of Dundonald, was killed. On the sixteenth General Wolfe pushed forward some grenadiers and Highlanders, and took possession of the hills in front of the Light Horse battery, where a lodgment was made under a fire from the town and the ships. On the twenty-first one of the enemy's line-of-battle ships was set on fire by a bombshell and blew up, and the fire being communicated to two others, they were burned to the water's edge. The fate of the town was now nearly decided, the enemy's fire being almost totally silenced and their fortifications shattered to the ground. To reduce the place nothing now remained but to get possession of the harbour, by taking or burning

the two ships of the line which remained. For this purpose, in the night between the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth, the admiral sent a detachment of six hundred men in the boats of the squadron, in two divisions, into the harbour, under the command of Captains Laforey and Balfour. This enterprise was gallantly executed, in the face of a terrible fire of cannon and musketry, the seamen boarding the enemy sword in hand. One of the ships was set on fire and destroyed, and the other towed off. The town surrendered on the twenty-sixth, and was taken possession of by Colonel Lord Rollo the following day. The garrison and seamen, amounting together to 5,637 men, were made prisoners of war. Besides Captain Baillie and Lieutenant Cuthbert, the Highlanders lost Lieutenants Fraser and Murray, killed; Captain Donald M'Donald, Lieutenants Alexander Campbell (Barcaldine) and John M'Donald, wounded; and sixty-seven rank and file killed and wounded.

In consequence of the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the several nations of Indians between the Appalachian Mountains and the Lakes, in October, 1759, the British government was enabled to carry into effect those operations which had been projected against the French settlements in Canada. The plan and partial progress of these combined operations have been already detailed in the service of the 42d regiment. The enterprise against Quebec, the most important by far of the three expeditions planned in 1759, falls now to be noticed from the share which Fraser's Highlanders had in it.

According to the plan fixed upon for the conquest of Canada, Major-General Wolfe, who had given promise of great military talents at Louisbourg, was to proceed up the river St. Lawrence and attack Quebec, whilst

General Amherst, after reducing Ticonderoga and Crown Point, was to descend the St. Lawrence and co-operate with General Wolfe in the conquest of Quebec. Though the enterprise against this place was the main undertaking, the force under General Wolfe did not exceed seven thousand effective men, whilst that under General Amherst amounted to more than twice that number; but the commander-in-chief seems to have calculated upon a junction with General Wolfe in sufficient time for the siege of Quebec.

The forces under General Wolfe comprehended the following regiments, — 15th, 28th, 35th, 43d, 47th, 48th, 58th, Fraser's Highlanders, the Rangers, and the grenadiers of Louisbourg. The fleet, under the command of Admirals Saunders and Holmes, with the transports, proceeded up the St. Lawrence, and reached the Island of Orleans, a little below Quebec, in the end of June, where the troops were disembarked without opposition. The Marquis de Montcalm, who commanded the French troops, which were greatly superior in number to the invaders, resolved rather to depend upon the natural strength of his position than his numbers, and took his measures accordingly. The city of Quebec was tolerably well fortified, defended by a numerous garrison, and abundantly supplied with provisions and ammunition. This able, and hitherto fortunate, leader had reinforced the troops of the colony with five regular battalions, formed of the best of the inhabitants, and he had, besides, completely disciplined all the Canadians of the neighbourhood capable of bearing arms, and several tribes of Indians. He had posted his army on a piece of ground along the shore of Beaufort, from the river St. Charles to the falls of Montmorency, — a position rendered strong by precipices, woods, and rivers, and defended by entrenchments where the ground appeared the weakest.

To undertake the siege of Quebec under the disadvantages which presented themselves, seemed a rash enterprise; but, although General Wolfe was completely aware of these difficulties, a thirst for glory, and the workings of a vigorous mind, which set every obstacle at defiance, impelled him to make the hazardous attempt. His maxim was, that "a brave and victorious army finds no difficulties;" and he was anxious to verify the truth of the adage in the present instance.

Having ascertained that, to reduce the place, it was necessary to erect batteries on the north of the St. Lawrence, the British general endeavoured, by a series of manœuvres, to draw Montcalm from his position; but the French commander was too prudent to risk a battle. With the view of attacking the enemy's entrenchments, General Wolfe sent a small armament up the river above the city, and, having personally surveyed the banks on the side of the enemy from one of the ships, he resolved to cross the river Montmorency and make the attack. He therefore ordered six companies of grenadiers and part of the Royal Americans to cross the river and land near the mouth of the Montmorency, and at the same time directed the two brigades commanded by Generals Murray and Townshend to pass a ford higher up. Close to the water's edge there was a detached redoubt, which the grenadiers were ordered to attack, in the expectation that the enemy would descend from the hill in its defence, and thus bring on a general engagement. At all events the possession of this post was of importance, as from it the British commander could obtain a better view of the enemy's entrenchments than he had yet been able to accomplish. The grenadiers and Royal Americans were the first who landed. They had received orders to form in four distinct bodies, but not to begin the attack till the first

brigade should have passed the ford, and be near enough to support them. No attention, however, was paid to these instructions. Before even the first brigade had crossed, the grenadiers, before they were regularly formed, rushed forward with impetuosity and considerable confusion to attack the enemy's entrenchments. They were received with a well-directed fire, which effectually checked them and threw them into disorder. They endeavoured to form under the redoubt, but being unable to rally, they retreated and formed behind the first brigade, which had by this time landed, and was drawn up on the beach in good order. The plan of attack being thus totally disconcerted, General Wolfe repassed the river and returned to the Isle of Orleans. In this unfortunate attempt the British lost 543 of all ranks killed, wounded, and missing. Of the Highlanders, up to the second of September, the loss was eighteen rank and file killed, Colonel Fraser, Captains Macpherson and Simon Fraser, and Lieutenants Cameron of Gleneves, Ewen Macdonald, and H. Macdonald, and eighty-five rank and file wounded. In the general orders which were issued the following morning, General Wolfe complained bitterly of the conduct of the grenadiers: "The check which the grenadiers met with yesterday will, it is hoped, be a lesson to them for the time to come. Such impetuous, irregular, and unsoldier-like proceedings, destroy all order, make it impossible for the commanders to form any disposition for attack, and put it out of the general's power to execute his plan. The grenadiers could not suppose that they alone could beat the French army; and therefore it was necessary that the corps under Brigadiers Monckton and Townshend should have time to join, that the attack might be general. The very first fire of the enemy was sufficient to repulse men who had lost all sense of order and military discipline.

Amherst's (15th regiment) and the Highlanders alone, by the soldier-like and cool manner they were formed in, would undoubtedly have beaten back the whole Canadian army if they had ventured to attack them."

General Wolfe now changed his plan of operations. Leaving his position at Montmorency, he reëmbarked his troops and artillery, and landed at Point Levi, whence he passed up the river in transports; but finding no opportunity of annoying the enemy above the town, he resolved to convey his troops farther down, in boats, and land them by night within a league of Cape Diamond, with the view of ascending the heights of Abraham, — which rise abruptly, with steep ascent, from the banks of the river, — and thus gain possession of the ground on the back of the city, where the fortifications were less strong. A plan more replete with dangers and difficulties could scarcely have been devised; but, from the advanced period of the season, it was necessary either to abandon the enterprise altogether, or to make an attempt upon the city, whatever might be the result. The troops, notwithstanding the recent disaster, were in high spirits, and ready to follow their general wherever he might lead them. The commander, on the other hand, though afflicted with a severe dysentery and fever, which had debilitated his frame, resolved to avail himself of the readiness of his men, and to conduct the hazardous enterprise in which they were about to engage in person. In order to deceive the enemy, Admiral Holmes was directed to move farther up the river on the twelfth of September, but to sail down in the night time, so as to protect the landing of the forces. These orders were punctually obeyed. About an hour after midnight of the same day four regiments, the light infantry, with the Highlanders and grenadiers, were embarked in flat-bottomed boats, under the command of Brigadiers

Monckton and Murray. They were accompanied by General Wolfe, who was among the first that landed. The boats fell down with the tide, keeping close to the north shore in the best order; but, owing to the rapidity of the current, and the darkness of the night, most of the boats landed a little below the intended place of disembarkation. When the troops were landed the boats were sent back for the other division of the troops, which was under the command of Brigadier-General Townshend. The ascent to the heights was by a narrow path, that slanted up the precipice from the landing-place. This path the enemy had broken up, and rendered almost impassable, by cross ditches, and they had made an entrenchment at the top of the hill. Notwithstanding these difficulties, Colonel Howe, who was the first to land, ascended the woody precipices, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, and dislodged a captain's guard which defended the narrow path. They then mounted without further molestation, and General Wolfe, who was among the first to gain the summit of the hill, formed the troops on the heights as they arrived. In the ascent the precipice was found to be so steep and dangerous, that the troops were obliged to climb up the rugged projections of the rocks, and, by aid of the branches of the trees and shrubs growing on both sides of the path, to pull themselves up. Though much time was thus necessarily occupied in the ascent, yet such was the perseverance of the troops, that they all gained the summit in time to enable the general to form in order of battle before daybreak. M. de Montcalm had now no way left of saving Quebec but by risking a battle, and he therefore determined to leave his stronghold and meet the British in the open field. Leaving his camp at Montmorency, he crossed the river St. Charles, and, forming his line with great skill, ad-

vanced forward to attack his opponents. His right was composed of half the Provincial troops, two battalions of regulars, and a body of Canadians and Indians; his centre, of a column of two battalions of Europeans, with two field-pieces; and his left of one battalion of regulars, and the remainder of the colonial troops. In his front, among brushwood and cornfields, fifteen hundred of his best marksmen were posted to gall the British as they approached. The British were drawn up in two lines, — the first, consisting of the grenadiers, 15th, 28th, 35th Highlanders, and 58th; the 47th regiment formed the second line, or reserve. The left of the front line was covered by the light infantry. It appearing to be the intention of the French commander to out-flank the left of the British, Brigadier-General Townshend, with Amherst's regiment (15th), which he formed *en potence*, — thus presenting a double front to the enemy. The Canadians and the Indians, who were posted among the brushwood, kept up an irregular galling fire, which proved fatal to many officers, who, from their dress, were singled out by these marksmen. The fire of this body was, in some measure, checked by the advanced posts of the British, who returned the fire; and a small gun, which was dragged up by the seamen from the landing-place, was brought forward, and did considerable execution. The French now advanced to the charge with great spirit, firing as they advanced; but, in consequence of orders they received, the British troops reserved their fire till the main body of the enemy had approached within forty yards of their line. When the enemy had come within that distance, the whole British line poured in a general and destructive discharge of musketry. Another discharge followed, which had such an effect upon the enemy, that they stopped short, and after making an ineffectual attempt

upon the left of the British line, they began to give way. At this time General Wolfe, who had received two wounds which he had concealed, was mortally wounded whilst advancing at the head of the grenadiers with fixed bayonets. At this instant every separate corps of the British army exerted itself, as if the contest were for its own peculiar honour. Whilst the right pressed on with their bayonets, Brigadier-General Murray briskly advanced with the troops under his command, and soon broke the centre of the enemy, "when the Highlanders, taking to their broadswords, fell in among them with irresistible impetuosity, and drove them back with great slaughter." The action on the left of the British was not so warm. A smart contest, however, took place between part of the enemy's right and some light infantry, who had thrown themselves into houses, which they defended with great courage. During this attack, Colonel Howe, who had taken post with two companies behind a copse, frequently sallied out on the flanks of the enemy, whilst General Townshend advanced in platoons against their front. Observing the left and centre of the French giving way, this officer, on whom the command had just devolved in consequence of General Monckton, the second in command, having been dangerously wounded, hastened to the centre, and finding that the troops had got into disorder in the pursuit, formed them again in line. At this moment, Monsieur de Bougainville, who had marched from Cape Rouge as soon as he heard that the British troops had gained the heights, appeared in their rear at the head of two thousand fresh men. General Townshend immediately ordered two regiments, with two pieces of artillery, to advance against this body; but Bougainville retired on their approach. The wreck of the French army retreated to Quebec and Point Levi.

The loss sustained by the enemy was considerable. About one thousand of them were made prisoners, including a number of officers, and about five hundred died on the field of battle. The death of their brave commander, Montcalm, who was mortally wounded almost at the same instant with General Wolfe, was a serious calamity to the French arms. When informed that his wound was mortal, — "So much the better," said he, "I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." Before his death he wrote a letter to General Townshend, recommending the prisoners to the generous humanity of the British. The death of the two commanders-in-chief, and the disasters which befell Generals Monckton and Severergues, the two seconds in command, who were respectively carried wounded from the field, are remarkable circumstances in the events of this day. This important victory was not gained without considerable loss on the part of the British, who, besides the commander-in-chief, had eight officers and forty-eight men killed; and forty-three officers and 435 men wounded. Of these, the Highlanders had Captain Thomas Ross of Culrossie, Lieutenant Roderick Macneil of Barra, Alexander Macdonell, son of Barrisdale, one sergeant and fourteen rank and file killed; and Captains John Macdonell of Lochgarry, Simon Fraser of Inverallochy; Lieutenants Macdonell, son of Keppoch, Archibald Campbell, Alexander Campbell, son of Barcaldine, John Douglas, Alexander Fraser, senior; and Ensigns James Mackenzie, Malcolm Fraser, and Alexander Gregorson; seven sergeants, and 131 rank and file wounded. The death of General Wolfe was a national loss. "He inherited from nature an animating fervour of sentiment, an intuitive perception, and extensive capacity, and a passion for glory, which stimulated him to acquire every species of military knowledge that

study could comprehend, that actual service could illustrate and confirm. Brave above all estimation of danger, he was also generous, gentle, complacent, and humane, — the pattern of the officer, the darling of the soldier. There was a sublimity in his genius which soared above the pitch of ordinary minds; and had his faculties been exercised to their full extent by opportunity and action, had his judgment been fully matured by age and experience, he would, without doubt, have rivalled in reputation the most celebrated captains of antiquity." When the fatal ball pierced the breast of the young hero, he found himself unable to stand, and leaned upon the shoulder of a lieutenant who sat down on the ground. This officer, observing the French give way, exclaimed, — "They run! they run!" "Who run?" inquired the gallant Wolfe with great earnestness. When told that it was the French who were flying, "What," said he, "do the cowards run already? Then I die happy!" and instantly expired.

On the eighteenth of September the town surrendered, and a great part of the circumjacent country being reduced, General Townshend embarked for England, leaving a garrison of five thousand effective men in Quebec, under the Hon. General James Murray. Apprehensive of a visit from a considerable French army stationed in Montreal and the neighbouring country, General Murray repaired the fortifications, and put the town in a proper posture of defence; but his troops suffered so much from the rigours of winter, and the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, that, before the end of April, the garrison was reduced, by death and disease, to about three thousand effective men. Such was the situation of affairs when the general received certain intelligence that General de Levi, who succeeded the Marquis de Montcalm, had reached Point au Tremble

with a force of ten thousand French and Canadians, and five hundred Indians. It was the intention of the French commander to cut off the posts which the British had established; but General Murray defeated this scheme, by ordering the bridges over the river Rouge to be broken down, and the landing-places at Sylleri and Foulon to be secured. Next day, the twenty-seventh of April, he marched in person with a strong detachment and two field-pieces, and took possession of an advantageous position, which he retained till the afternoon, when the outposts were withdrawn, after which he returned to Quebec with very little loss, although the enemy pressed closely on his rear.

General Murray was now reduced to the necessity of withstanding a siege, or risking a battle. He chose the latter alternative, a resolution which was deemed by some military men as savouring more of youthful impatience and overstrained courage, than of judgment; but the dangers with which he was beset, in the midst of a hostile population, and the difficulties incident to a protracted siege, seem to afford some justification for that step. In pursuance of his resolution, the general marched out on the twenty-eighth of April, at half-past six o'clock in the morning, and formed his little army on the heights of Abraham. The right wing, commanded by Colonel Burton, consisted of the 15th, 48th, 58th, and second battalion of the 60th, or Royal Americans; the left under Colonel Simon Fraser, was formed of the 43d, 47th Welsh fusileers, and the Highlanders. The 35th, and the third battalion of the 60th, constituted the reserve. The right was covered by Major Dalling's corps of light infantry; and the left by Captain Huzzen's company of rangers, and one hundred volunteers, under the command of Captain Macdonald of Fraser's regiment. Observing the enemy in full march

in one column, General Murray advanced quickly forward to meet them before they should form their line. His light infantry, coming in contact with Levi's advance, drove them back on their main body; but pursuing too far, they were furiously attacked and repulsed in their turn. They fell back in such disorder on the line, as to impede their fire, and in passing round by the right flank to the rear, they suffered much from the fire of a party who were endeavouring to turn that flank. The enemy having made two desperate attempts to penetrate the right wing, the 35th regiment was called up from the reserve, to its support. Meanwhile the British left was struggling with the enemy, who succeeded so far, from their superior numbers, in their attempt to turn that flank, that they obtained possession of two redoubts, but were driven out from both by the Highlanders, sword in hand. By pushing forward fresh numbers, however, the enemy at last succeeded in forcing the left wing to retire, the right giving way about the same time. The French did not attempt to pursue, but allowed the British to retire quietly within the walls of the city, and to carry away their wounded. The British had six officers, and 250 rank and file killed; and eighty-two officers, and 679 non-commissioned officers and privates wounded. Among the killed, the Highlanders had Captain Donald Macdonald, Lieutenant Cosmo Gordon, and fifty-five non-commissioned officers, pipers, and privates; their wounded were Colonel Fraser, Captains John Campbell of Dunoon, Alexander Fraser, Alexander Macleod, Charles Macdonell, Lieutenants Archibald Campbell, son of Glenlyon, Charles Stewart, Hector Macdonald, John Macbean, Alexander Fraser, senior, Alexander Campbell, John Nairn, Arthur Rose, Alexander Fraser, junior, Simon Fraser, senior, Archibald M'Alister, Alexander

Fraser, John Chisholm, Simon Fraser, junior, Malcolm Fraser, and Donald M'Neil; Ensigns Henry Monro, Robert Menzies, Duncan Cameron (Fassafern), William Robertson, Alexander Gregorson, and Malcolm Fraser, and 129 non-commissioned officers and privates. The enemy lost twice the number of men.

Shortly after the British had retired, General Levi moved forward on Quebec, and, having taken up a position close to it, opened a fire at five o'clock. He then proceeded to besiege the city in form, and General Murray made the necessary dispositions to defend the place. The siege was continued till the tenth of May, when it was suddenly raised, the enemy retreating with great precipitation, leaving all their artillery implements and stores behind. This unexpected event was occasioned by the destruction or capture of all the enemy's ships above Quebec, by an English squadron which had arrived in the river, and the advance of General Amherst on Montreal. General Murray left Quebec in pursuit of the enemy, but was unable to overtake them. The junction of General Murray with General Amherst, in the neighbourhood of Montreal, in the month of September, and the surrender of that last stronghold of the French in Canada, have been already mentioned in the history of the service of the 42d regiment.

Fraser's Highlanders were not called again into active service till the summer of 1762, when they were, on the expedition under Colonel William Amherst, sent to retake St. John's, Newfoundland, a detail of which has been given in the notice of Montgomery's Highlanders. In this service Captain Macdonell of Fraser's regiment, was mortally wounded, three rank and file killed, and seven wounded.

At the conclusion of the war, a number of the officers

and men having expressed a desire to settle in North America, had their wishes granted, and an allowance of land given them. The rest returned to Scotland, and were discharged. When the war of the American revolution broke out, upwards of three hundred of those men who had remained in the country enlisted in the 84th regiment, in 1775, and formed part of two fine battalions embodied under the name of the Royal Highland Emigrants.

The loss of this regiment during four years' active service was,

	KILLED
In Officers	14
Non-commissioned Officers and Privates	109
Total	123
	WOUNDED
In Officers	46
Non-commissioned Officers and Privates	400
Total	446
Grand Total	569

II. Seventy-first Regiment — 1775

The American revolutionary war requiring extraordinary exertions on the part of the government, it was resolved to revive Fraser's Highlanders, by raising two battalions, under the auspices of Colonel Fraser, who, in testimony of his services, had been rewarded by King George III with a grant of the family estates of Lovat, which had been forfeited in 1746. In his exertions to raise the battalions, Colonel Fraser was warmly assisted by his officers, of whom no less than six, besides himself, were chiefs of clans, and within a few months after the letters of service were issued, two battalions

of 2,340 Highlanders were raised, and assembled first at Stirling, and afterward at Glasgow, in April, 1776. The following were the names of the officers:

FIRST BATTALION

Colonel — The honourable Simon Fraser, of Lovat, died in 1782, a lieutenant-general.

Lieutenant-Colonel — Sir William Erskine of Torry, died in 1795, a lieutenant-general.

Majors

John Macdonell of Lochgarry, died in 1789, colonel.
Duncan Macpherson of Cluny, retired from the foot-guards in 1791, died in 1820.

Captains

Simon Fraser, died lieutenant-general in 1812.
Duncan Chisholm of Chisholm.
Colin Mackenzie, died general in 1818.
Francis Skelly, died in India, lieutenant-colonel of the 94th regiment.
Hamilton Maxwell, brother of Monreith, died in India lieutenant-colonel of the 74th regiment, 1794.
John Campbell, son of Lord Stonefield, died lieutenant-colonel of the 2d battalion of the 42d regiment at Madras, 1784.
Norman Macleod of Macleod, died lieutenant-general, 1796.
Sir James Baird of Saughtonhall.
Charles Cameron of Lochiel, died 1776.

Lieutenants

Charles Campbell, son of Ardchattan, killed at Catauba.
John Macdougall.
Colin Mackenzie.
John Nairne, son of Lord Nairne.
William Nairne, now Lord Nairne.
Charles Gordon.
David Kinloch.
Thomas Tause, killed at Savannah.
William Sinclair.
Hugh Fraser.
Alexander Fraser.
Thomas Fraser, son of Leadclune.
Dougald Campbell, son of Craignish.
Robert Macdonald, son of Sanda.
Alexander Fraser.
Roderick Macleod.
John Ross.
Patrick Cumming.
Thomas Hamilton.

Ensigns

Archibald Campbell.
Henry Macpherson.
John Grant.
Robert Campbell, son of Ederline.
Allan Malcolm.
John Murchison.
Angus Macdonell.
Peter Fraser.

Chaplain — Hugh Blair, D. D., professor of Rhetoric in the University of Edinburgh.
Surgeon — William Fraser.
Adjutant — Donald Cameron.
Quartermaster — David Campbell.

SECOND BATTALION

Colonel — Simon Fraser.
Lieutenant-Colonel — Archibald Campbell, died lieutenant-general, 1792.

Majors

Norman Lamont, son of the laird of Lamont.
Robert Menzies, killed in Boston harbour, 1776.

Captains

Angus Mackintosh of Kellachy, formerly captain in Keith's Highlanders, died in South Carolina, 1780.
Patrick Campbell, son of Glenure.
Æneas Mackintosh, of Mackintosh.
Andrew Lawrie.
Charles Cameron, son of Fassafern, killed at Savannah, 1779.
George Munro, son of Culcairn.
Boyd Porterfield.
Law. Robert Campbell.

Lieutenants

Robert Hutchinson.
Alexander Sutherland.
Archibald Campbell.
Hugh Lamont.
Robert Duncanson.
George Stewart.
Charles Barrington Mackenzie.
James Christie.
James Fraser.
Dougald Campbell, son of Achnaba.
Lodovick Colquhoun, son of Luss.
John Mackenzie.
Hugh Campbell, son of Glenure.
John Campbell.
Arthur Forbes.
Patrick Campbell.
Archibald Maclean.
David Ross.
Thomas Fraser.
Archibald Balnevis, son of Edradour.
Robert Grant.
Thomas Fraser.

Ensigns

William Gordon.
Charles Main.
Archibald Campbell.
Donald Cameron.
John Grant.
Smollett Campbell, son of Craignish.
Gilbert Waugh.
William Bain.

Chaplain — Malcolm Nicholson.
Adjutant — Archibald Campbell.
Quartermaster — J. Ogilvie.
Surgeon — Colin Chisholm, afterward physician in Bristol.

At the time when the regiment was mustered in Glasgow, there were nearly six thousand Highlanders in that city, of whom three thousand belonging to the 42d and 71st regiments were raised and brought from the North in ten weeks. A finer and a more healthy and robust body of men could not have been anywhere selected; and their conduct was so laudable and exemplary as to gain the affections of the inhabitants, between whom and the soldiers the greatest cordiality prevailed. So great was the desire of the Highlanders to enlist into this new regiment, that before leaving Glasgow for embarkation, it was found that more men had arrived than were required, and it became necessary, therefore, to leave some of them behind; but unwilling to remain, several of these stole on board the transports, and were not discovered till the fleet was at sea. There were others, however, who did not evince the same ardour to accompany their countrymen. A body of 120 men had been raised on the forfeited estate of Captain Cameron of Lochiel, by the ancient tenants, with the view of securing him a company. Lochiel was at the time in London, and being indisposed, was unable to join the regiment. His men were exceedingly disappointed at not meeting their chief and captain at Glasgow, and when they received orders to embark, they hesitated, as they believed that some misfortune had befallen him; but General Fraser, with a persuasive eloquence, in which he was well skilled, removed their scruples; and as Captain Cameron of Fassafern, a friend and near relation of Lochiel, was appointed to the company, they cheerfully consented to embark. When Lochiel heard of the conduct of his men he hastened to Glasgow, though he had not recovered from the severe illness which had detained him in London; but the fatigue of the journey brought on a return of his com-

plaint, to which he fell a victim in a few weeks. His death was greatly lamented, as he was universally respected.

Sometime after the sailing of the fleet, they were scattered in a violent gale, and several of the ships were attacked singly by American privateers. One of these, with eight guns, attacked a transport with two six-pounders only, having Captain, afterward Sir Æneas Mackintosh and his company on board. Having spent all their ammunition, the transport bore down upon the privateer to board her; but the latter sheered off, and the transport proceeded on her voyage.

Another transport, having Colonel Archibald Campbell and Major Menzies on board, was not so fortunate. Ignorant of the evacuation of Boston by General Howe, they sailed into Boston harbour, and were instantly attacked by three privateers full of men. The transport beat off her antagonists, but expended all her ammunition, and getting her rudder disabled by a shot, she grounded under a battery, and was forced to surrender. Major Menzies and seven men were killed, and Colonel Campbell and the rest were made prisoners. The death of Major Menzies was a great loss, as from his great military experience he was particularly well qualified to discipline the corps which had not yet undergone the process of drilling.

The regiment joined the army under General Howe in Staten Island, and though totally undisciplined, the 71st was immediately put in front, the general judging well from the experience he had had of Fraser's Highlanders in the seven years' war, that their bravery, if engaged before being disciplined, would make up for their want of discipline. The regiment was divided, the grenadiers being placed in the battalion under the Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Stewart, and the

other companies, which were formed into three small battalions, formed a brigade under Sir William Erskine.

The first affair in which they were engaged, was the battle of Brooklyn, detailed in the notice of the 42d. In this action they fully justified the expectations of the commander. They displayed, in common with the other troops, great eagerness to push the enemy to extremities, and compel them to abandon the strong position they had taken up; but from a desire to save the lives of his troops, General Howe restrained their ardour by recalling the right wing, in which the grenadiers were, from the attack. The loss sustained on this occasion, by the 71st, was three rank and file killed, and two sergeants and nine rank and file wounded.

The regiment passed the winter at Amboy. The next campaign was spent in skirmishes, in some of which the regiment was engaged. They were also employed in the expeditions against Willsborough, and Westfield, at the commencement of the campaign of 1777. They afterward embarked for the Chesapeake, and part of them were engaged in the battle of Brandywine. They embarked for New York in November, where they received an accession of two hundred recruits from Scotland. Along with a hundred more from the hospital, they were formed into a corps under Captain Colin (afterward General) Mackenzie. This small corps acted as light infantry, and formed part of an expedition sent up the New River to make a diversion in favour of General Burgoyne's movements. This corps led a successful assault on Fort Montgomery on the sixth of October, in which they displayed great courage. In the year 1778, the 71st regiment was employed in the Jerseys, under Lord Cornwallis, in which excursion no occasion occurred for distinguishing themselves.

On the twenty-ninth of November, 1777, an expedi-

tion, of which the 71st formed a part, destined against Savannah, the capital of Georgia, sailed from Sandy Hook, and reached the river of that name about the end of December, under Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell, who had been exchanged this year. The 1st battalion and the light infantry, having landed a little below the town, Captain Cameron, an "officer of high spirit and great promise," instantly pushed forward to attack the advanced post of the enemy, when he and three men were killed by a volley. The remainder advancing, charged the enemy and drove them back on the main body, drawn up in line in an open plain behind the town. As soon as the disembarkation was finished, Colonel Campbell formed his army in line; and whilst he detached Sir James Baird with the light infantry, to get round the right flank of the enemy by a narrow path, he sent the corps, lately Captain Cameron's, to get round the left. The attention of the enemy being occupied by the army in front, they neglected to watch the motions of the flanking parties, who, on reaching their ground, made signals to the front to advance. These being instantly answered, the enemy now perceived they were nearly surrounded, and turning their backs fled in great disorder. They suffered severely from the light infantry, who closed in upon their flanks; they had one hundred men killed, and five hundred wounded or taken prisoners. The British had only four soldiers killed and five wounded. The town then surrendered, and the British took possession of all the shipping and stores and forty-five pieces of cannon.

Colonel Campbell now advanced into the interior, and entered Augusta, a town 150 miles distant from Savannah, where he established himself. Meanwhile General Prevost, having arrived at Savannah from Florida, assumed the command. Judging the ground

occupied too extensive, he evacuated Augusta. The Americans, taking courage from this retrograde movement, assembled in considerable numbers, and harassed the rear of the British. The Loyalists in the interior were greatly dispirited, and, being left unprotected, suffered much from the disaffected. The winter was spent in making some inroads into the interior, to keep the Americans in check. About this time Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland succeeded to the command of the regiment, in consequence of the return of Colonel Campbell to England, on leave of absence.

The regiment remained almost inactive till the month of February, 1779, when it was employed in an enterprise against Boston Creek, a strong position defended by upwards of two thousand men, besides one thousand men occupied in detached stations. The front of this position was protected by a deep swamp, and the only approach in that way was by a narrow causeway. On each flank were thick woods nearly impenetrable, except by the drier parts of the swamps which intersected them; but the position was more open in the rear. To dislodge the enemy from this stronghold, which caused considerable annoyance, Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan Macpherson, with the first battalion of the 71st, was directed to march upon the front of the position; whilst Colonel Prevost, and Lieutenant-Colonels Maitland and Macdonald, with the 2d battalion, the light infantry, and a party of provincials, were ordered to attempt the rear by a circuitous route of many miles. These combined movements were executed with such precision, that, in ten minutes after Colonel Macpherson appeared at the head of the causeway in front, the fire of the body in the rear was heard. Sir James Baird, with the light infantry, rushing through the openings in the swamps, on the left flank, the enemy were overpowered after a

short resistance. In this affair the Highlanders had three soldiers killed, and one officer and twelve rank and file wounded.

General Prevost next determined to dislodge a considerable force under General Lincoln, stationed on the South Carolina side of the river. With the troops lately so successful at Brien's Creek, he crossed the river ten miles below the enemy's position. Whilst the general advanced on their front, he ordered the 71st to attack their rear by a circuitous march of several miles. Guided by a party of Creek Indians, the Highlanders entered a woody swamp at eleven o'clock at night, in traversing which, they were frequently up to the shoulders in the swamp. They cleared the woods at eight o'clock in the morning, with their ammunition destroyed. They were now within half a mile of the enemy's rear, and although General Prevost had not yet moved from his position, the Highlanders instantly attacked and drove the enemy from their position without sustaining any loss.

Emboldened by this partial success, the general made an attempt upon Charleston; but after summoning the town to surrender, he was induced, by the approach of the American general, Lincoln, with a large force, to desist, and determined to return to his former quarters in Georgia. As the Americans were in arms, and had possessed themselves of the principal pass on the route, he was forced to return by the sea-coast, a course very injurious to the troops, as they had to march through unfrequented woods, and salt water marshes and swamps, where they could not obtain fresh water. In this retreat, the British force was separated in consequence of Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost, the quartermaster-general, who had gone with a party on a foraging excursion, having removed part of a bridge of boats

leading to John's Island. The enemy, who had five thousand men in the neighbourhood, endeavoured to avail themselves of this circumstance, and pushed forward two thousand men with some artillery, to attack a battalion of the Highlanders and some Hessians under Colonel Maitland, who were placed in a redoubt at Stone Ferry, for the purpose of protecting the foraging party. Hearing of the advance of the enemy, Colonel Maitland sent out Captain Colin Campbell, with four officers and fifty-six men, to reconnoitre. Whilst this small party was standing on an open field, the enemy emerged from a thick wood. Regardless of the inequality of numbers, Captain Campbell attacked the enemy with great vivacity; and a desperate contest took place, in which all the Highlanders and officers, except seven of the soldiers, fell. When Captain Campbell was struck, he desired such of his men as were able to retire to the redoubt; but they refused to obey, as they considered that if they left their officers behind in the field, they would bring a lasting disgrace on themselves. The enemy, unexpectedly, ceased firing, and the seven men, availing themselves of the respite, retired, carrying their wounded officers along with them, followed by such of the soldiers as were able to walk. The enemy then advanced on the redoubt, and the Hessians having got into confusion, they forced an entrance; but they were driven out by the Highlanders, at the point of the bayonet. The enemy were preparing for another attack, but the second battalion of the Highlanders having come up, the Americans retired with considerable loss.

After this affair, General Prevost retired with the main body towards Savannah, leaving behind him seven hundred men under Colonel Maitland, who took up a position in the island of Port Royal. In the month of September, 1779, the Count D'Estaing arrived on the

coast of Georgia with a large fleet, with troops on board, for the purpose of retaking Savannah, then garrisoned by eleven hundred effective men, including one battalion of the 71st. The town, situated on a sandy plain, gently declining towards the south, had few natural or artificial means of defence, and as the force about to attack it was said to exceed twelve thousand men, the British general had nothing to rely upon but the energy and firmness of his troops. The count, on landing, made regular approaches, and summoned the town to surrender. In the absence of Colonel Maitland's detachment in Port Royal, time was of importance, and being demanded, was granted. Colonel Maitland on hearing of the arrival of the enemy, instantly set out for Savannah; but finding the principal passes and fords in possession of the enemy, he made a wide circuit; and after a most tedious march through marshes and woods hitherto considered impassable, he reached Savannah before General Prevost had returned a definite answer to D'Estaing's summons.

Having thus accomplished his object, General Prevost made immediate preparations to defend the place to the last extremity, and being seconded by the zeal and abilities of Captain Moncrieff, the chief engineer, and the exertions of the officers and soldiers, assisted by the negro population, the town was put in a good state of defence, before the enemy had completed their approaches. During these operations, several sorties were made by the garrison. On the morning of the twenty-fourth of September, Major Colin Graham sallied out with the light company of the 16th, and the Highlanders, and drove the enemy from their outworks, with the loss of fourteen officers, and 145 men killed, wounded, and prisoners. In this affair, Lieutenant Henry Macpherson of the 71st and three privates were killed, and fifteen

wounded. In another sortie, Major Macarthur with the piquets of the Highlanders advanced with such caution, that, after a few rounds, the Americans and French mistaking their object, fired on each other, and killed fifty men, during which rencounter he retired without loss.

Having completed his arrangements, D'Estaing made an assault, on the ninth of October, before daybreak, with all his forces. Owing to a thick fog, and the darkness of the morning, it was some time before the besieged could ascertain in what direction the principal attack was to be made. As soon as daylight appeared, the French and American forces were seen advancing in three columns, D'Estaing leading the right in person. By taking too large a circuit, the left column got entangled in a swamp, and being exposed to the guns of the garrison, fell into confusion, and was unable to advance. The heads of the right and centre columns suffered greatly, from a well-directed fire from the batteries; but they still persevered in advancing; the men in the rear supplying the place of those who fell in front. When the enemy reached the first redoubt, the contest became furious; many of them entered the ditch, and some of them even ascended and planted the colours on the parapet, where they were killed. The first man who mounted was stabbed by Captain Tawse of the 71st, who commanded the redoubt, and the captain himself was shot dead by the man who followed. The grenadiers of the 60th came up to the support of Captain Archibald Campbell, who had assumed the command of the redoubt, and the enemy's column, being attacked on both sides, was broken and driven back with precipitation.

In this enterprise the enemy are supposed to have lost fifteen hundred men killed, wounded, and prisoners. The British had only three officers and thirty-six sol-

diers killed, and two officers and sixty men wounded. The Americans retired to South Carolina, and the French to their ships. The garrison before the siege was sickly, but during active operations the disease was in a manner suspended, an effect which has been often observed in the army. After the cause of excitement was over, by the raising of the siege, the men relapsed, and one-fourth of them were sent to the hospital.

The grenadiers of the 71st were not employed in Georgia, but were posted at Stony Point and Verplanks, in the State of New York, which places had been recently taken from the enemy. Wishing to make amends for allowing his post to be surprised by Major-General Sir Charles Grey, the American general, Wayne, was sent to retake the posts of Stony Point and Verplanks. Accordingly, with a body of troops, he proceeded at eight o'clock in the evening of the fifteenth of July, 1779, and taking post in a hollow, within two miles of the fort, advanced unperceived, about midnight, in two columns. One of these gained the summit, on which the fort stood, without being observed, and the garrison being surprised, surrendered after a short resistance, with the loss of seventeen soldiers killed, and three officers and seventy-two privates wounded. The piquet, which was commanded by Lieutenant Cumming of the 71st, resisted one of the columns till almost all the men composing it were killed or wounded. Lieutenant Cumming was among the latter.

After the surrender of Charleston on the twelfth of May, 1780, to the forces under Sir Henry Clinton, Lord Cornwallis was appointed to the command of the southern provinces. Having projected an excursion into the interior, he was joined by the 71st, which had remained at Savannah in quarters during the winter. In the beginning of June, the army, amounting to

twenty-five hundred men, reached Cambden, and encamped in the neighbourhood, the general making that place his headquarters. The American general, Gates, having, in July, assembled a force of seven thousand men, took up a position at Rugley's Mill, nearly twelve miles from Cambden. Determined to surprise and attack the enemy, the British general moved forward on the night of the fifteenth of August; whilst, by a singular coincidence, the American commander left his position at the very same hour, with the same intention. It was full moon, and the sky was unclouded. Before three o'clock in the morning, the advanced guards met half-way, and exchanged some shots; but both generals, ignorant of each other's strength, declined a general action, and lay on their arms till morning. The ground on which the armies lay was a sandy plain, with straggling trees, but a part on the left of the British was soft and boggy. Each army prepared for battle, by forming line. The British right consisted of the light infantry, and the Welsh fusileers; the 33d regiment and the volunteers of Ireland formed the centre; and the Provincials composed the left, having the marshy ground in their front. Whilst this formation was going on, Captain Charles Campbell, who commanded the Highland light companies on the right, mounted the stump of an old tree to reconnoitre, and perceiving the enemy in motion, as if they intended to turn his flank, he leaped down, muttering to himself, "I'll see you damned first," and calling to his men, said, "Remember you are light infantry; remember you are Highlanders — charge!" The Highlanders instantly rushed forward, and such was the impetuosity of the attack, that the division of the enemy which was to have surrounded the right of the British was completely broken and driven from the field before the battle commenced in the other

parts of the line. In the contest which took place between these, the centre of the enemy gained ground; but neither party seeming disposed to advance, a pause of a few minutes took place, as if by mutual consent, during which both parties remained stationary without firing a shot. Whilst matters were in this state, Lord Cornwallis ordered the corps in the centre to open their right and left; and when a considerable space intervened, he directed the Highlanders, who were getting impatient at being left in the rear, whilst their friends were fighting in front, to advance and occupy the vacant space. When the Highlanders had taken their ground, his lordship cried out, "My brave Highlanders, now is your time!" The words were scarcely uttered, when they rushed forward, accompanied by the 33d, and the volunteers of Ireland. The charge was irresistible, and the centre of the enemy was completely overthrown. Meanwhile the right of the enemy, which was enveloped in the smoke of the fire, advanced unperceived, and gained the ground on which the Highlanders had been formerly posted as a reserve. Unaware of the fate of their companions, they gave three cheers for victory; but their joy was of short duration, for, the smoke immediately clearing up, they saw their mistake; and a party of Highlanders turning on them, the greater part threw down their arms, whilst the remainder flew in all directions. The loss of the British in this decisive action was three officers and sixty-six men killed, and seventeen officers and 226 rank and file wounded. Lieutenant Archibald Campbell and three soldiers of the 71st were killed, and Captain Hugh Campbell, Lieutenant John Grant, two sergeants and thirty privates wounded.

Though the battle of the sixteenth of August was decisive, yet, as General Sumpter with a strong corps occupied positions on the Catawba River, which com-

manded the road to Charleston, it was necessary to dislodge him. For this purpose Colonel Tarleton was directed to proceed with the cavalry, and a corps of light infantry, under Captain Charles Campbell of the 71st. On the morning of the eighteenth they came in sight of Fishing Creek, and observing some smoke at a short distance on their right, the sergeant of the advanced guard halted his party, and went forward to reconnoitre. He observed an encampment with arms piled, and, with the exception of a few sentinels, and some persons employed in cooking, the soldiers were reposing in groups apparently asleep. The sergeant reporting what he had seen to Captain Campbell, the latter, who commanded in front, fearing a discovery, formed such of the cavalry as had come up, and with forty of the Highland light infantry rushed quickly forward, secured the piled arms, and surprised the camp. The success was complete; a few men were killed, nearly five hundred surrendered prisoners, and the rest fled in all directions. The loss was trifling, but the Highlanders had in an especial manner to regret the death of Captain Campbell, who was killed by a random shot.

The American general, Morgan, having entered South Carolina, in December, 1780, with about eleven hundred men, Colonel Tarleton was detached with some infantry, of which the first battalion of the 71st formed a part, and a small body of cavalry. On the morning of the seventeenth of January, 1781, intelligence was received that General Morgan was posted on a rising ground in front, which was thinly covered with pine-trees. The front line was drawn up on the top of the rising ground, and the second, four hundred paces in rear of the first. Colonel Tarleton instantly formed in order of battle. In front he placed the 7th, or fusileers, the in-

fantry of the British legion, and the light infantry; the Highlanders and cavalry formed the reserve. The line, exhausted by running at a rapid pace, received the fire of the enemy, at the distance of thirty or forty yards, which did considerable execution. The fire was returned, but without spirit and with little effect; and it was kept up on both sides for ten or twelve minutes, neither party advancing. The light infantry then made two attempts to charge, but were repulsed with loss. In this state of matters the Highlanders were ordered up, and advancing rapidly to the charge, the enemy's front line instantly gave way; and this retrograde motion being observed by the second line, which had not yet been engaged, it immediately faced to the right and inclined backwards, and by this skilful manœuvre opened a space by which the front line retreated. Eager to pursue, the Highlanders followed the front line, when Colonel Howard, who commanded the enemy's reserve, threw in a destructive fire upon the 71st, when within forty yards of the hostile force. So disastrous was the effect of this fire, that nearly one-half of the Highlanders fell; and the rest were so scattered over the ground, on which they pursued, that they could not be united to form a charge with the bayonet. Though checked, the Highlanders did not fall back, probably expecting that the first line and the cavalry would come up to their support; but they were mistaken; and after some irregular firing between them and Colonel Howard's reserve, the front line of the Americans rallied, returned to the field, and pushed forward to the right flank of the Highlanders. Alone, and unsupported, and almost overpowered by the increasing numbers of the enemy, the Highlanders began to retire, and at length to run, the first instance (may it be the only one!) of a Highland regiment running *from* an enemy! A general rout ensued; few of

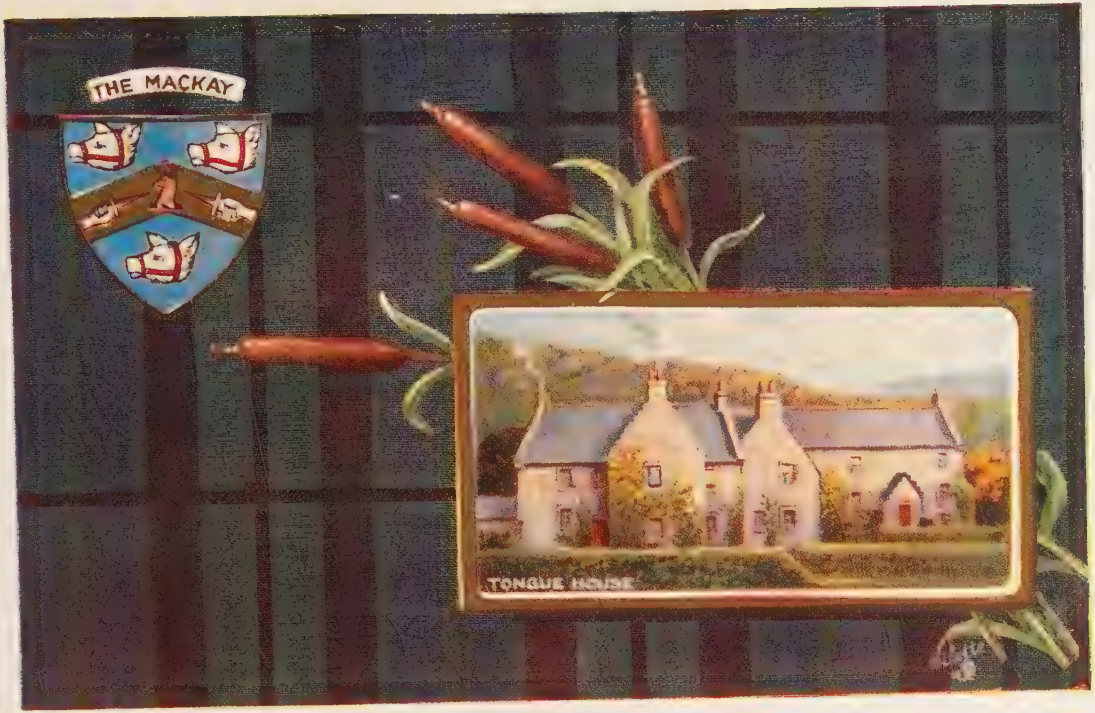
the infantry escaped, but the cavalry saved themselves by the speed of their horses. The loss of the British, in this disastrous affair, exceeded four hundred men. The Highland officers were perfectly satisfied with the conduct of their men, and imputing the disaster altogether to the bad dispositions of Colonel Tarleton, made a representation to Lord Cornwallis, not to be employed again under the same officer, a request with which his lordship complied.

The main body of the American army under General Green retreated northward after this action, and Lord Cornwallis made every exertion to follow them. Previous to the march the two battalions of the 71st, being greatly reduced, were consolidated into one, and formed in brigade with the Welsh fusileers and 33d regiment. General Green retreated to Guilford Court-house, where, on the sixteenth of March, he prepared for battle. He drew up his army in three lines: the first occupied the edge of a wood with a fence in front of Hogstie farm; the second a wood of stunted oaks at some distance in the rear; and the third line was drawn up in the more open parts of the woods and upon cleared ground. The front line of the British was formed of the German regiment of De Bos, the Highlanders and guards under the Honourable General Leslie on the right; and the Welsh fusileers, 33d regiment, and 2d battalion of guards under Brigadier-General Charles O'Hara, on the left. The cavalry were in the rear, supported by the light infantry of the guards and the German Yagers.

The order of battle being completed, the attack began at one o'clock. The Americans, covered by the fence in their front, reserved their fire till the British were within thirty or forty paces, at which distance they opened a most destructive fire, which annihilated nearly one-third of Colonel Webster's brigade. The fire was returned

by the brigade, who rushed forward on the enemy. These abandoned their fence, and retreated on the second line. The contest was maintained with greater pertinacity on the more open ground, where the regiment of De Bos and the 33d retreated and advanced repeatedly before they succeeded in driving the enemy from the field. A party of the guards, pressing forward without observing a body of cavalry placed in the right flank as a reserve, were charged in flank, had their line broken, and lost several men. The enemy, who had retreated, emboldened by the effect of this charge, halted, turned their face to the field, and recommenced firing. Whilst matters were in this state, and the Hessians warmly engaged, the Highlanders, who had rapidly pushed round the flank, appeared on a rising ground in rear of the enemy's left, and rushing forward with shouts, made such an impression on the Americans that they immediately fled, leaving their guns and ammunition behind. In this well-contested action, every corps fought separately, each depending on its own firmness; and having to sustain the weight of so greatly superior numbers, the issue was for some time doubtful. The British had seven officers and 102 non-commissioned officers and rank and file killed, among whom were Ensign Grant and eleven soldiers of the 71st; and twenty officers and 419 non-commissioned officers and rank and file wounded, including four sergeants and forty-six soldiers of the same regiment.

No solid advantage was gained by this battle, as Lord Cornwallis found it necessary to retreat, and was even obliged to leave his wounded behind in a house in the neighbourhood. The British took the direction of Cross Creek, followed close in the rear by the Americans. The settlement of Cross Creek was possessed by emigrant Highlanders, who had evinced great loyalty


THE MACKAY
TONGUE HOUSE

during the war; and they now offered to bring fifteen hundred men into the field, and to furnish every necessary except arms and ammunition; but stipulated that they should be commanded by officers from the line. This reasonable offer was declined; but it was proposed to form them into what was called a provincial corps of the line. This proposition was rejected by the emigrant Highlanders, who retired to their settlements, after a negotiation of twelve days. The army then marched for Wilmington, where it arrived on the seventeenth of April. Here Lord Cornwallis halted till the twenty-sixth, when he proceeded on the route to Petersborough. After traversing several hundred miles of a country chiefly hostile, he arrived at Petersborough on the twentieth of May, where he formed a junction with Major-General Philips, who had recently arrived from New York with three thousand men. With the united forces, which amounted to six thousand men, Lord Cornwallis proceeded to Portsmouth, and whilst he was preparing to cross the river at St. James's Island, the Marquis de la Fayette, ignorant of the strength of the British army, gallantly attacked Colonel Thomas Dundas's brigade, with two thousand men. The marquis was repulsed, but not without a warm contest.

Arriving at Portsmouth, Lord Cornwallis continued his march to Yorktown, and took up a position on the York River, on the twenty-second of August. The place selected was an elevated platform, on the banks of the river, nearly level. On the right of the position extending from the river, was a ravine about forty feet in depth, and upwards of one hundred yards in breadth; a line of entrenchments, with a horn-work, formed the centre. Beyond the ravine, on the right of the position, was an extensive redoubt, and two smaller ones on the left, also advanced beyond the entrenchments. These

defences, which constituted the chief strength of the camp, were not completed when General Washington, who had been lately joined by the Count de Rochambeau, took up a position at the distance of two miles from the British lines. His force consisted of seven thousand French and twelve thousand Americans, being thrice as numerous as that of the British, which did not exceed 5,950 men.

General Washington immediately proceeded to erect batteries, and to make his approaches. He first directed his fire against the redoubt on the right, which after four days' bombardment was reduced to a heap of sand. He did not, however, attempt an assault on this point of the position, but turned his whole force against the redoubts on the left, which he carried by storm, and turned the guns of the redoubts on the other parts of the entrenchments. Some soldiers of the 71st, who had manned one of these redoubts, conceiving that the honour of the regiment was compromised by their expulsion from the redoubt, sent a petition through the commanding officer to Lord Cornwallis, for permission to retake it; but as his lordship did not think that the acquisition would be of much importance, under existing circumstances, he declined the proposition.

Finding his position quite untenable, and his situation becoming every hour more critical, the British commander determined to decamp at midnight with the *élite* of his army, to cross the river, and leave a small force in the works to capitulate for the sick and wounded, the former being very numerous. The plan would have succeeded had not the passage of the river been rendered dangerous, if not impracticable, by a squall of wind. The first division was embarked, and some of the boats had reached Gloucester Point on the opposite shore, when the general countermanded the enterprise

in consequence of a storm which arose. Judging farther resistance hopeless, Lord Cornwallis made proposals of capitulation, and the terms being adjusted, the British troops marched out with their arms and baggage on the eighth of October, 1781, and were afterward sent to different parts of the country. The garrison had six officers, and 150 non-commissioned officers and rank and file killed, and six officers and 319 non-commissioned officers and rank and file wounded. Lieutenant Fraser and nine soldiers of the 71st were killed, and three drummers and nineteen soldiers wounded.

The military services of this army, which were now closed, had been most arduous. In less than twelve months they had marched and countermarched nearly two thousand miles, had been subjected to many severe hardships, and besides numerous skirmishes, had fought two pitched battles, in all of which they had been victorious; yet all their exertions were unavailable in the general contest.

With this misfortune also ended the military career of the Fraser Highlanders, who remained prisoners till the conclusion of the war. True to their allegiance, they resisted to a man the solicitations of the Americans to join their standard and settle among them, thus exhibiting a striking moral contrast with many soldiers of other corps, who, in violation of their oath, entered the American ranks. In other respects the conduct of the Highlanders was in perfect keeping with this high state of moral feeling and daring, not one instance of disgraceful conduct ever having occurred in the 71st. The only case of military insubordination was that which happened at Leith in April, 1779, of which an account has been given in the history of the 42d regiment; but it is clear that no fault was attributable to the men of the detachment in question, who merely insisted on the

fulfilment of the engagement which had been entered into with them.

The regiment returned to Scotland on the termination of hostilities, and was discharged at Perth in 1783.

KEITH'S AND CAMPBELL'S HIGHLANDERS

OR EIGHTY-SEVENTH AND EIGHTY-EIGHTH REGIMENTS 1759

THE first of these regiments consisted of three companies of 105 men each. Major Robert Murray Keith, who had served in the Scotch Brigade in Holland, and a relation of the celebrated Field Marshal Keith, was appointed to the command. About the end of the year 1759 this regiment joined the allied army in Germany under Prince Frederick of Brunswick.

The Highlanders were not long in the allied camp when they were brought into action. On the third of January, 1760, the Marquis de Vogue attacked and carried the town of Herborn, and made a small detachment of the allies who were posted there prisoners. At the same time the Marquis Dauvet made himself master of Dillemberg, the garrison of the allied troops retiring into the castle, where they were closely besieged. Prince Ferdinand no sooner understood their situation than he began his march with a strong detachment for their relief on the seventh of January, when he attacked and defeated the besiegers. On the same day "the Highlanders under Major Keith, supported by the hussars of Luckner, who commanded the whole detachment, attacked the village of Eybach, where Beau Fremonte's regiment of dragoons was posted, and routed them with great slaughter. The greater part of the regiment was killed, and many prisoners were taken, together with

two hundred horses and all their baggage. The Highlanders distinguished themselves on this occasion by their intrepidity, which was the more remarkable, as they were no other than raw recruits, just arrived from their own country, and altogether unacquainted with discipline." The Highlanders on this occasion had four men killed and seven wounded.

Prince Ferdinand was so well satisfied with the conduct of this body, that he recommended to the governor not only to increase it to eight hundred men, but to raise another regiment of equal strength, to be placed under his Serene Highness. This recommendation was instantly attended to, and, in a few weeks, the requisite number of men was raised in the counties of Argyle, Perth, Inverness, Ross, and Sutherland. The command of the new regiment was conferred on John Campbell of Dunoon, but power was reserved to the Earls of Sutherland and Breadalbane, the lairds of Macleod and Innes, and other gentlemen in the North, to appoint captains and subalterns to companies raised on their respective estates. Major Macnab, son of the laird of Macnab; Captain Archibald Campbell, brother of Achallader; John Campbell of Auch and other officers, were recommended by Lord Breadalbane; and Macleod, who raised a company in Skye, appointed his nephew, Captain Fothringham of Powrie, to it. Sir James Innes, chief of that name, who succeeded to the estates and dukedom of Roxburgh in the year 1810, was also appointed to a company.

Keith's regiment was embodied at Perth and Campbell's at Stirling, and, being embodied at the same time and ordered on the same service, an interchange of officers took place. Embarking for Germany they joined the allied army, under Prince Ferdinand, in 1760, and were distinguished by being placed in the grenadier brigade.

The allied army moved from Kalle on the thirtieth of July, 1760, in consequence of the advance of the French, who took up a position on the River Dymel. The hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who had passed that river the preceding day, was directed by Prince Ferdinand to turn the left of the enemy, who were posted between Warburg and Ochsendorff, whilst he himself advanced in front with the main body of the army. The French were attacked almost at the same moment both in flank and rear, and defeated with considerable loss. In an account of the battle written by Prince Ferdinand to George II he says "that the loss of the allies, which was moderate, fell chiefly upon Maxwell's brave battalion of English grenadiers and the two regiments of Scots Highlanders, which did wonders. Colonel Beckwith, who commanded the whole brigade formed of English grenadiers and Scots Highlanders, distinguished himself greatly." None of the Highlanders were killed but Lieutenant Walter Ogilvie, and two privates were wounded.

Another affair soon occurred in which the Highlanders also distinguished themselves. Prince Ferdinand, having determined to beat up the quarters of a large French detachment stationed at Zeirenberg, pitched upon five battalions, with a detachment of the Highlanders and eight regiments of dragoons, for this service. This body began their march on the night of the fifth of August, and when within two miles of the town the corps proceeded by three different roads, Maxwell's brigade of grenadiers, the regiment of Kingsby, and the Highlanders keeping together. They marched in profound silence, and though their tramp was at last heard by the French the surprise was too sudden for effectual resistance. "The Scots Highlanders mounted the breaches sword in hand, supported by the Chasseurs. The col-

umn of English grenadiers advanced in good order and with the greatest silence. In short, the service was complete, and the troops displayed equal courage, soldier-like conduct, and activity." The loss of the Highlanders in this affair was three privates killed and six wounded.

The hereditary prince being hard pressed by Marshal de Castries, was reinforced from the camp at Warburg. The Highlanders joined him on the fourteenth of October, shortly after he had been attacked by the marshal, who had compelled him to retire. The prince now attacked the French commander in his turn, but was unsuccessful, being obliged again to retire after a warm contest, which lasted from five till nine in the morning. The Highlanders, who "were in the first column of attack, were the last to retreat, and kept their ground in the face of every disadvantage, even after the troops on their right and left had retired. The Highlanders were so exasperated with the loss they sustained, that it was with difficulty they could be withdrawn, when Colonel Campbell received orders from an aide-de-camp sent by the prince, desiring him to retreat, as to persist in maintaining his position longer would be a useless waste of human life." In this action Lieutenants William Ogilvie and Alexander Macleod of the Highlanders, four sergeants, and thirty-seven rank and file were killed, and Captain Archibald Campbell of Achallader, Lieutenants Gordon Clunes, Archibald Stewart, Angus Mackintosh of Killachy, and Walter Barland, and ten rank and file wounded.

On the preceding night an attempt was made by Major Pollock, with one hundred grenadiers and the same number of Keith's Highlanders, to surprise the convent of Closter Camp, where a detachment of the enemy was posted, and where, it was supposed, the French com-

mander and some of his officers were to pass the night; but this attempt miscarried. On reaching the sentinel of the main-guard Major Pollock rushed upon him and ran him through the body with his sword. The wounded man, before falling, turned round upon his antagonist and shot him with a pistol, upon which they both fell dead.

The next affair in which the Highlanders were engaged was the battle of Fellinghausen, in July, 1761. The commander-in-chief, in a general order, thus expressed his approbation of the conduct of the corps in this action: "His Serene Highness, Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, has been graciously pleased to order Colonel Beckwith to signify to the brigade he has the honour to command his entire approbation of their conduct on the 15th and 16th of July. The soldier-like perseverance of the Highland regiments in resisting and repulsing the repeated attacks of the chosen troops of France, has deservedly gained them the highest honour. The ardour and activity with which the grenadiers pushed and pursued the enemy, and the trophies they have taken, justly entitle them to the highest encomiums. The intrepidity of the little band of Highlanders merits the greatest praise." Colonel Beckwith, in making this communication, added that "the humanity and generosity with which the soldiers treated the great flock of prisoners they took, did them as much honour as their subduing the enemy." In this action Major Archibald Campbell of Achallader, who had been promoted only a week before, and Lieutenants William Ross and John Grant, and thirty-one rank and file, were killed; and Major Archibald Macnab, Captain James Fraser, Lieutenants Archibald Macarthur, Patrick Campbell, and John Mackintosh, brother of Killachy and father of the late Sir James Mackintosh, M. P., two sergeants, and seventy privates, were wounded.

No enterprise of any moment was attempted till the twenty-eighth of June, 1762, when Prince Ferdinand attacked the French army at Graibenstein, and defeated them. The French lost upwards of four thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, including two hundred officers, whilst that sustained by the allies did not exceed seven hundred men. The British troops, who were under the command of the Marquis of Granby, "behaved with a bravery not to be parallelled, especially our grenadiers and Highlanders."

The Highlanders, from the distinction they had earned in these different rencounters, now began to attract the especial notice of the Germans. When an entire ignorance prevailed among the people of England respecting the Highlanders, it is not to be wondered at that the Germans should have formed the most extraordinary notions of these mountaineers. In common with the English they looked upon the Highlanders as savages; but their ignorance went farther, for the people of Germany actually believed that the Highlanders were still strangers to Christianity. "The Scotch Highlanders," says an article which appeared in the *Vienna Gazette* of 1762, "are a people totally different in their dress, manners, and temper from the other inhabitants of Britain. They are caught in the mountains when young, and still run with a surprising degree of swiftness. As they are strangers to fear, they make very good soldiers when disciplined. The men are of low stature, and the most of them old or very young. They discover an extraordinary submission and love for their officers, who are all young and handsome. From the goodness of their dispositions in everything, for the boors are much better treated by these savages than by the polished French and English; from the goodness of their disposition, which, by the bye, shows the rectitude of

human nature before it is vitiated by example or prejudice, it is to be hoped that their king's laudable, though late, endeavours to civilize and instruct them in the principles of Christianity will meet with success!" The article adds that the "French held them at first in great contempt, but they have met with them so often of late, and seen them in the front of so many battles, that they firmly believe that there are twelve battalions of them in the army instead of two. Broglio himself has lately said that he once wished that he was a man of six feet high, but that now he is reconciled to his size since he has seen the wonders performed by the little mountaineers." An acquaintance with the Highlanders soon dissipated the illusions under which the Germans laboured.

The Highlanders were not engaged in the battle of Johannisberg, in which the allies were worsted; but, on the twenty-first of September, in the subsequent action at Brucher Mühl, they took a part. The French occupied a mill on one side of the road, and the allies a redoubt on the other, and the great object of both parties was to obtain possession of a small post which defended the bridge at Brucher Mühl. At first a slight cannonade was opened from a few guns, but these were speedily augmented to twenty-five heavy pieces on each side. In the post occupied by the allies there were only at first one hundred men, but during the action, which lasted without intermission for fifteen hours, no less than seventeen regiments were successively brought forward, replacing one another after they had spent their ammunition. Both sides remained in their respective positions, and although the contest was long and severe the allies lost only six hundred men in killed and wounded. The Highland corps had Major Alexander Maclean and twenty-one rank and file killed, and Captain

Patrick Campbell, and Lieutenant Walter Barland, three sergeants, and fifty-eight rank and file wounded.

On the conclusion of hostilities in November, 1762, the Highlanders were ordered home. In the three campaigns in which they had served they had established a well-earned reputation for bravery, and so great was the estimation in which they were held by the Dutch, that, on their march through Holland, they were welcomed with acclamations, particularly by the women who presented them with laurel leaves, — a feeling which, it is said, was in some measure owing to the friendly intercourse which had previously existed between the inhabitants and the Scotch brigade.

After landing at Tilbury Fort the regiments marched for Scotland, and were received everywhere on their route with the most marked attention, particularly at Derby, the inhabitants of which town presented the men with gratuities in money. Among various reasons assigned for the remarkable predilection shown by the people of Derby the most probable is a feeling of gratitude for the respect shown by the Highlanders to the persons and properties of the inhabitants when visited by them in the year 1745.

Keith's regiment was marched to Perth and Campbell's to Linlithgow, and were reduced in July, 1763.

The total loss of these corps was 115 men, besides seven officers; and 176 men, and thirteen officers, wounded.

EIGHTY-NINTH HIGHLAND REGIMENT

1759

The war in which Great Britain was engaged requiring, at this time, increased exertions on the part of the government, government resolved to raise, in addi-

tion to Keith's Highlanders, another regiment in those parts of the Highlands where the influence of the Gordon family prevailed. At the solicitation of the Dowager Duchess of Gordon Major Staates Long Morris, to whom she had been lately married, was appointed to raise the regiment; and, to strengthen his interest amongst the youth of the North, the late Duke of Gordon, then a youth at college, was appointed a captain; his brother, Lord William, a lieutenant; and his younger brother, Lord George, an ensign. The object of the duchess in obtaining these appointments was to counteract the political influence of the Duke of Argyle during the minority of her son. Major Morris was so successful that, in a few weeks, 760 men were collected at Gordon Castle, who, in December, 1759, were marched to Aberdeen. The following officers then received their commissions: —

Lieutenant-Colonel commandant — Staates Long Morris, died a general in the army.
First Major — George Scott, a general in 1798, died in 1811.
Second Major — Hector Munro, a general in 1798, died in 1806.

Captains

Alexander, Duke of Gordon.
Alexander Duff of Cubben.
George Morrison of Bognie.
William Macgillivray of Dumaglass.
Ludovic Grant of Knockando.
Norman Lamont, son of the laird of Lamont.
Duncan Macpherson, afterward in the 42d and 71st regiments, died 1807.

Captain-Lieutenant — Archibald Dunbar, son of Sir Archibald Dunbar of Northfield.

Lieutenants

Lord William Gordon.
Charles Gordon of Shellagreen, afterward lieutenant-colonel of the 77th, or Athole Highlanders.
Lawrence Leith.
Alexander Stewart of Lismurdie.
Ral. Hanson.
George Campbell.
John Gordon.
John Macdonald, lieutenant-colonel of the 81st Highland regiment, 1783.
Alexander Macpherson.

William Baillie, killed in India, 1779, then commanding a detachment of Sir Hector Munro's army.
Alexander Godsman.
William Finlayson, died in 1817.
William Macpherson.
R. T. Rd. Maitland.
James Fordyce.
Robert Munro.
Alexander Duff of Mayne.

Ensigns

Lord George Gordon.
James Gordon.
Alexander Gordon.
John Edwards.
Patrick Ogilvie, brother to Ogilvie of East Milne.
John Macpherson.
Harry Gilchrist.

Chaplain—Alexander Chambers.
Adjutant — Alexander Donald.
Quartermaster — James Bennett.
Surgeon — James Arthur.

The regiment embarked at Portsmouth for the East Indies in December, 1760, and arrived at Bombay in November following. The Duke of Gordon was desirous of accompanying the regiment, but his mother, at the especial request of George II, induced him to remain at home to finish his education.

The 89th had no particular station assigned them, but kept moving from place to place till a strong detachment under Major Hector Munro joined the army under the command of Major Carnac, in the neighbourhood of Patna. Major Munro then assumed the command, and being well supported by his men, quelled a formidable mutiny among the troops. After the ringleaders had been executed and discipline restored, Major Munro attacked the enemy at Buxar, on the twenty-third day of October, 1764, and, though the force opposed to him was five times as numerous as his own, he overthrew and dispersed it. The enemy had six thousand men killed, and left 130 pieces of cannon on the field, whilst his Majesty's troops had only two officers and four rank and file killed. Major Munro received a letter of thanks on the occasion from the president and council of Calcutta. "The signal victory you gained,"

they say, "so as at one blow utterly to defeat the designs of the enemy against these provinces, is an event which does so much honour to yourself, Sir, in particular, and to all the officers and men under your command, and which, at the same time, is attended with such particular advantages to the company, as call upon us to return you our sincere thanks." For this important service Major Munro was immediately promoted to the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel.

The services of the regiment being no longer required it was ordered home, and was reduced in the year 1765. It has been remarked, as a singular circumstance attending their service, that, although five years embodied, four of which were spent in India, or on the passage going and returning, none of the officers died, nor was there any promotion or other change among them, except the change of Lord William Gordon to the 67th regiment, and the promotion of his successor to his lieutenancy. The same good conduct which distinguished the other Highland corps was not less conspicuous in this, — not one man out of eight of the companies, numbering in all 780 men, having been brought to the halberts. Of the whole regiment only six men suffered corporal punishment.

JOHNSTONE'S HIGHLANDERS

OR ONE HUNDRED AND FIRST REGIMENT
1760

This regiment, which consisted of five companies, of five sergeants and 105 rank and file each, was raised in the year 1760 by the following gentlemen, viz., Colin Graham of Drainie, James Cuthbert of Milncraigs, Peter Gordon of Knockespic, Ludovick Grant of the family of

Rothiemurchus, and Robert Campbell, son of Ballivolin. These all received captain's commissions.

After the companies were completed they assembled at Perth, and thence were marched to Newcastle, where they remained till near the end of the year 1761, when they were sent to Germany, to reinforce Keith's and Campbell's Highlanders. Their officers did not accompany them, but were ordered back to the Highlands to raise six additional companies of the same strength as the other five. This service was soon performed, six hundred men having assembled at Perth in a few months. Major, afterward Sir, James Johnstone of Westerhall was appointed to the command of the corps, with the rank of major-commandant. The major, Adjutant Macveah, and Sergeant-Major Coxwell, were the only persons in the 101st regiment not Highlanders. Lieutenant-General Lord George Beauclerk reviewed the regiment at Perth in 1762, and declared that he had never seen a body of men in a more "efficient state, and better fitted to meet the enemy." They had, however, no opportunity of realizing the expectations formed of them, not having been called into active service. The regiment was reduced at Perth in August, 1763.

END OF VOLUME VII.

NOTES

1. Aodach-suaicheantais, means the national costume or dress complete, with the badge, etc.

2. The list of Badges and War-Cries has been extended and revised by Mr. Henry Whyte (" Fionn "), Glasgow.

3. " Captain John Campbell of Carrick was one of the most accomplished gentlemen of his day. Possessing very agreeable manners and bravery, tempered by gaiety, he was regarded by the people as one of those who retained the chivalrous spirit of their ancestors. A poet, a soldier, and a gentleman, no less gallant among the ladies than he was brave among men; he was the object of general admiration; and the last generation of Highlanders among whom he was best known took great pleasure in cherishing his memory and repeating anecdotes concerning him. He married a sister of General Campbell of Mamore, afterward Duke of Argyle, and grandfather to the present duke." — *Stewart's Sketches.*

4. An officer in the army writing to his friend at York, says that these brigades " fought like devils; that they neither gave nor took quarter; that observing the Duke of Cumberland to be extremely active in defence of this post (Lafeldt) they were employed, on this attack, at their own request; that they in a manner cut down all before them, with a full resolution, if possible, to reach his Royal Highness, which they certainly would have done, had not Sir John Ligonier come up with a party of horse, and thereby saved the duke at the loss of his own liberty." — *Gentleman's Magazine,* 1747.

5. This officer, who was son of Duncan Campbell, of the family of Duneaves, in Perthshire, along with Gregor M'Gregor, commonly called Gregor the Beautiful, grandfather of Sir Gregor M'Gregor, were presented to George II in the year 1743, when privates in the Black Watch. " They performed (says the *Westminster Journal*) the broadsword exercise, and that of the Lochaber axe, or lance, before his Majesty, the Duke of Cumberland, Marshal Wade, and a number of general officers assembled for the purpose in the great gallery at St. James's. They displayed so much dexterity and skill in the management of their weapons, as to give perfect satisfaction

to his Majesty. Each got a gratuity of one guinea, which they gave to the porter at the palace gate as they went out." Campbell was promoted to an ensigncy for his conduct at Fontenoy.

6. To allure the young Highlanders to enlist into other regiments, recruiting parties assumed the dress of the Royal Highlanders, thus deceiving the recruits into the belief that they were entering the 42d. When the regiment lay in Dublin, a party of Highland recruits, destined for the 38th regiment, arrived there; but on representing the deception which had been practised upon them, they were, after a full inquiry, discharged by Lord Townshend, the lord lieutenant. They, however, immediately re-enlisted into the 42d regiment. — *Stewart.*

7. "On this occasion Sergeant Macgregor, whose company was immediately in the rear of the piquet, rushed forward to their support with a few men who happened to have their arms in their hands, when the enemy commenced the attack. Being severely wounded, he was left insensible on the ground. When the piquet was overpowered, and the few survivors forced to retire, Macgregor, who had that day put on a new jacket with silver-lace, having, besides, large silver buckles in his shoes, and a watch, attracted the notice of an American soldier, who deemed him a good prize. The retreat of his friends not allowing him time to strip the sergeant on the spot, he thought the shortest way was to take him on his back to a more convenient distance. By this time Macgregor began to recover; and, perceiving whither the man was carrying him, drew his dirk, and grasping him by the throat, swore that he would run him through the breast if he did not turn back and carry him to the camp. The American, finding this argument irresistible, complied with the request, and meeting Lord Cornwallis (who had come up to the support of the regiment when he heard the firing) and Colonel Stirling, was thanked for his care of the sergeant; but he honestly told them that he only conveyed him thither to save his own life. Lord Cornwallis gave him liberty to go whithersoever he chose. His lordship procured for the sergeant a situation under government at Leith, which he enjoyed many years." — *Stewart's Sketches.*

8. The affair alluded to is shortly this: — When the "Invincibles" were followed into the ruin by the 42d, the French officer surrendered the standard of his regiment to Major Stirling, who gave it in charge to a sergeant of his regiment. The sergeant, when standing by a gun, was overthrown and stunned by the cavalry, who had charged in the rear. When he recovered, the standard was

gone, and he could give no account of it. Some time after this, a soldier of Stewart's regiment brought a standard to Colonel Abercromby, the deputy adjutant-general, which he stated he had taken from a French cavalry officer in front of his regiment, and for which he got a receipt, and a reward of $24. This standard is preserved; but whether it is the identical one which was delivered up to Major Stirling in uncertain. At all events, the honour of obtaining possession of the standard belonging to the "Invincibles" belongs to the 42d.

9. There was no exchange of men and officers between this and the first battalion.

10. The number of men who died in this battalion from December, 1803, to 24th October, 1814, was 322. The number discharged and transferred to the first battalion and to other regiments, from 1803 till the reduction in 1814, was 965 men.

11. Lieutenant Allan Maclean was son of Maclean of Torloisk. He left the Dutch and entered the British service. He was a captain in Montgomery's Highlanders in 1757; raised the 114th Highland regiment in 1759; and, in 1775, raised a battalion of the 84th, a Highland Emigrant regiment; and, by his unwearied zeal and abilities, was the principal cause of the defeat of the Americans at the attack on Quebec in 1775–6. Lieutenant Francis Maclean also entered the British service, and rose to the rank of major-general. In the year 1777 he was appointed colonel of the 82d regiment, and, in 1779, commanded an expedition against Penobscot in Nova Scotia, in which he was completely successful. — *Stewart's Sketches.*

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